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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

1492—1929

BY

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN
SMITH COLLEGE

REVISED EDITION

VOLUME I — 1492–1789

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In this book I have sought to tell clearly and impartially the story of human achievement in what is now the United States, from the earliest traces of man's existence to the present time. Out of the multitude of facts which may be considered within the domain of American history, those have been recounted which seem best suited to explain the progress of the people as a nation. The influence of physical environment has been discussed in the opening chapter, which also deals with the primitive inhabitants. An attempt has been made to give the colonial period its proper unity and show in what manner the colonies were a part of the general British scheme of imperial government. At the same time one must remember that it is American and not British history which concerns us, and for that reason the narrative must not neglect the individual colonies. From the end of the colonial period the dominant interest is the progress of events which have to do with the common cause of independence, and after that with national development.

Much thought has been given to the proper distribution of emphasis between the various historical factors. Political institutions are the most conscious expression of the national will. They determine the form of the story which the historian has to tell. But social and economic conditions and the actions of leading men give color and contour to the figure and decide whether it be attractive or unattractive, vivid or unimpressive. This volume contains at intervals summaries of the habits and social progress of the people, while throughout it seeks to present the decisions of congress and administrations in the matters which relate to the most important phases of popular welfare. It is believed that, if well done, it thus becomes in the most vital sense a social history. My aim has been to lay the necessary foundation for those who wish to pursue further the subject of American history in whatever phase they may be interested.

In a work like this it is impossible to discuss new historical evidence. I have had to content myself with what has already been done by patient and faithful investigators. I have drawn from the results of their labors freely and gratefully. It has also been necessary to omit many things which I should have desired to include had greater space been allowed by the plan to which the book must conform. It seemed best to deal only with the main currents of history, and to follow these with considerable fullness rather than encumber the narrative with many details. If some of my readers are disappointed

through the omission of something they expected to find, I hope they will be consoled by finding that what has been attempted has gained in amplitude of treatment.

The bibliographies at the ends of chapters are intended as an aid to those who wish to read further than this book can carry them. They are classified with respect to subjects, and while they are not critical, no book has been mentioned which does not contain useful information, although some of them must be perused with discrimination. It is suggested that the investigator suppplement the information herein offered by consulting Larned, *The Literature of American History* (1902), Hart, editor, *The American Nation*, 27 vols. (1904–1908), as well as special bibliographies. The books mentioned under the caption, *For Independent Reading*, are popular rather than scientific, but they generally contain reliable information. It is hoped that they may be of value to students who wish to read American history during vacations and to others who read through their own initiative.

Finally, the author's thanks are due to Professor Marshall S. Brown of New York University, who kindly read and criticised the completed manuscript, but who is in no way responsible for the errors herein contained.

J. S. B.

16 Rue Chalgrin, Paris,
1913.

PREFACE TO THE ENLARGED EDITION

The progress of time makes it necessary to add to this book an account of the events that have occurred since the work was published in 1913. At that time a new administration was coming into office: at the present it is going out. To treat in proper perspective a period so close at hand and to interpret rightly its many disputed points may well tax the resources of the wisest historian. I hope for the same consideration from the public in this respect that has been so generously extended to the book in other respects. I have given my serious attention to determining what to omit as comparatively unimportant, and how to combine and emphasize the facts that are presented. If I have made mistakes in doing so, I have at least avoided some I might have made by following another course.

J. S. B.

March 3, 1921.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND REVISED EDITION

Dr. Bassett issued an enlarged edition of this work in 1921, bringing the narrative down to the end of the second administration of Woodrow Wilson. It has now become necessary to add still further pages dealing with the Harding and Coolidge Administrations; and all the material following page 902 has been supplied by Mr. Allan Nevins, who has also added to the bibliographical references earlier in the volume. The new edition is also indebted to Dr. Leo F. Stock for helpful advice given during its preparation.

Of the additional pages it is necessary only to quote what Dr. Bassett himself wrote in 1921: "To treat in proper perspective a period so close at hand and to interpret rightly its many disputed points may well tax the resources of the wisest historian. I hope for the same consideration from the public in this respect that has been so generously extended to the book in other respects."

R. H. B.

May 25, 1929.

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I. THE CONTINENT AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS:

Physical Factors in American History 1
Natural Resources 4
Early Inhabitants 11
The Indians 13
Indian Culture 15

CHAPTER II. THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF AMERICA:

Events and Ideas leading to the Discovery 23
The Achievement of Columbus 27
Exploring the Coasts of the New World 31
Exploring the Interior 37

CHAPTER III. THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE SOUTH:

The Gentlemen Adventurers 41
The Beginning of Virginia 45
Better Times in the Colony 50
The Settlement of Maryland 52

CHAPTER IV. THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND:

The Plymouth Colony 59
The Massachusetts Bay Colony 63
The Settlement of Other New England Colonies 68
New York under the Dutch 72
Early Relations of the Colonies with England 76

CHAPTER V. COLONIAL PROGRESS UNDER THE LATER STUARTS, 1660–1689:

Charles II and the Colonies 80
The Stuart Reaction 88
The Colonies under the Later Stuarts, 1660–1689 92

CHAPTER VI. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1690–1763:

Development of the Colonial Conflict 99
Typical Colonial Controversies 101
Georgia Founded 109
Growth of New France 111
The French and Indian Wars 113
The Last Conflict between the French and English in North America . 121

PAGE

CHAPTER VII. SOCIAL PROGRESS IN COLONIES:

The Conditions of Settlement 134
Laboring Classes 137
Colonial Industry 140
Trade 142
Race Elements in Colony Planting 145
Religion in the Colonies 148
Education and Culture in the Colonies 153
Local Government in the Colonies 155
Paper Money in the Colonies 157

CHAPTER VIII. THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION:

The Principles at Stake 161
Grenville's Policy 162
Growing Irritation 169
Continental Organization and Attempts at Adjustment 176

CHAPTER IX. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:

The Declaration of Independence 186
The Campaign around New York, 1776 188
The Campaigns of 1777, Philadelphia and Saratoga 192
The Alliance with France 198
Minor Events in the North, 1778–1782 200
The War in the West 203
The Navy in the Revolution 204
The Campaign in the South, 1778–1781 206
The Treaty of Peace 214
Civil Progress during the Revolution 217

CHAPTER X. THE FIRST YEARS OF PEACE, 1783–1787

Financial Embarrassments 222
Industry and Trade after the War 225
Forming a New Society 228
The Western Lands 231
Popular Dissatisfaction 235

CHAPTER XI. MAKING THE CONSTITUTION:

The Articles of Confederation 238
Moving toward a Stronger Union 240
The Adoption of the Constitution 247
Nationality and State Integrity in the Constitution 250

PAGE

CHAPTER XII. WASHINGTON'S PRESIDENCY — A PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION:

The Work of Organization 256
Financial Reorganization 259
Adjusting Foreign Relations 261
The United States and the European War 266
The Whisky Insurrection 267
Political Development under Washington 269

CHAPTER XIII. ADAMS AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERALISTS:

The Political Character of the Administration 276
The Quarrel with France 278
Overconfidence of the Federalists 283
Overthrow of the Federalists 287

CHAPTER XIV. INTERNAL HISTORY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNDER JEFFERSON AND MADISON:

Republican Reforms 291
The War with Tripoli 295
The Purchase of Louisiana 296
Dissension in the Republican Party 300
The Schemes of Aaron Burr 303
Relations between England and the United States 306
Jefferson's Reply to Europe 309

CHAPTER XV. THE WAR OF 1812:

Origin of the War 313
The Struggle for Canada 321
Operations at Sea 326
The British Campaign on Chesapeake Bay 329
The War on the Gulf Coast 331
New England Discontent 335

CHAPTER XVI. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:

Growth of the West and Southwest 341
Industrial Development 345
Slavery made Sectional 350
Religious Development after the Revolution 352
Exploration in the Far West 355
Early Constitutional Interpretation 357

CHAPTER XVII. THE LAST OF THE VIRGINIA PRESIDENTS:

Reforms of 1816–1817 363
Party Cleavage under Monroe 367

PAGE

The Acquisition of Florida 368
The Missouri Compromise 371
The Monroe Doctrine 375
The Election of 1824 377
The Presidential Election of 1825 379

CHAPTER XVIII. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS:

Party Formation under John Quincy Adams 382
The Tariff and the Development of Sectionalism 384
The Election of 1828 388

CHAPTER XIX. PROBLEMS OF JACKSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION:

The New President in Charge 392
Internal Improvements Checked 394
Division in the Jacksonian Party 396
The Election of 1832 403

CHAPTER XX. JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY COMPLETED:

The End of Nullification 407
Jackson's "War" against the Bank 411
Foreign Affairs 415
The End of Jackson's Presidency 422

CHAPTER XXI. EARLY PERIOD OF THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY, 1831–1850:

The Antislavery Agitation 428
Van Buren's Presidency 432
The Administration of Tyler 435
The Maine Boundary and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty . . . 437
The Annexation of Texas and the Occupation of Oregon . . . 438
The Election of 1844 441
Polk's Administration 445
The Slavery Question in a New Form 450
The Compromise of 1850 454

CHAPTER XXII. SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1815–1861:

Growth of Population and the Results 461
The Influence of Great Inventions 463
The Indians 465
Social Development in the South 468
The Development of Democracy in State and Nation 472
The Progress of Education 476
Gold in California 480
The Panic of 1857 482

PAGE

CHAPTER XXIII. EVENTS LEADING TO THE CIVIL WAR, 1850–1860:

Overthrowing the Compromise of 1850 485
The Struggle for Kansas 489
A New Party and the Election of 1856 493
The Dred Scott Decision 497
The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 499
The John Brown Raid 502
The Election of 1860 504

CHAPTER XXIV. THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR:

War or Peace? 511
Lincoln and Secession 514
Preparations for War 516
The Bull Run Campaign 518
Relations with Great Britain 521

CHAPTER XXV. THE WESTERN CAMPAIGNS:

A Bifurcated Invasion 526
Three Preliminary Operations, 1861 526
Grant's Campaign on the Tennessee, 1862 527
Confederate Counter-Movement in Tennessee and Kentucky . . 529
Vicksburg Captured 530
The Campaign for Chattanooga 532
The Campaign against Atlanta 535
Sherman's March through Georgia and the Carolinas 539
The War beyond the Mississippi 541

CHAPTER XXVI. THE WAR IN THE EAST, 1862–1865:

McClellan's Peninsular Campaign 545
Pope and Second Bull Run 550
The Campaign of Antietam 553
The Battle of Fredericksburg 555
The Battle of Chancellorsville 557
The Gettysburg Campaign 558
From the Wilderness to Petersburg 563
The End of the War 564
Federal Naval Operations 569

CHAPTER XXVII. CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING THE WAR:

Enlisting Troops, North and South 572
Federal Finances 574
The Progress of Emancipation 577
Political Parties during the Civil War 581
The War Powers of the President 585
The Southern Problem and Southern Efforts 586

PAGE

CHAPTER XXVIII. RECONSTRUCTION — THE NATIONAL SIDE:

Two Possible Methods of Reconstruction 594
Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction 596
Johnson's Plan of Reconstruction 599
Affairs in the South 601
Johnson's Hopes 604
The Fourteenth Amendment 607
The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 609
An Appeal to the Supreme Court 611
The Impeachment of President Johnson 613

CHAPTER XXIX. RECONSTRUCTION — THE SOUTHERN SIDE:

Social Conditions in the South 619
Congressional Reconstruction in Operation 622
The Ku Klux Klan 627
Triumph of the Southern Democrats 630
National Reconstruction under Grant 633
Interpreting the War Amendments 635

CHAPTER XXX. PARTY HISTORY, 1865–1877:

Political Conditions after the War 640
The Election of 1868 641
Foreign Affairs under Johnson 643
Grant's Political Mistakes 644
The Presidential Campaign of 1872 648
Political Decay under Grant 649
The Election of 1876 652

CHAPTER XXXI. ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1856–1877:

Financial Reorganization 660
The Legal Tender Decisions 663
Industrial Progress 664
Resumption of Specie Payment 668
Diplomatic Affairs under Grant 669

CHAPTER XXXII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAR WEST:

The Rocky Mountain Region 676
The Transcontinental Railroads 680
Indian Wars 683
The Sioux War of 1876 687
A New Indian Policy 690

CHAPTER XXXIII. POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL READJUSTMENT, 1877–1881:

Hayes and his Party 693
Course of the Democrats 695

PAGE
The Bland-Allison Silver Coinage Law 697
Resumption of Specie Payment 599
The Election of 1880 701
Garfield's Short Presidency 703

CHAPTER XXXIV. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM, 1881–1897:
Civil Service Reform 707
Ballot Reform 711
Tariff Reform 712
The Election of 1884 716
Cleveland and his Party 719
Tariff Reform under Cleveland 721
The Republican Party in a New Stage 723
The McKinley Tariff and the Surplus 724
The Tariff Legislation of 1892–1897 727

CHAPTER XXXV. GREAT INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS:
Combinations as Historical Factors 731
Railroad Combinations 732
Trusts 736
Bank Consolidation 740
Combinations of Laborers 741

CHAPTER XXXVI. LAST PHASES OF THE SILVER MOVEMENT:
The Bland Law in Operation 746
The Last Years of Harrison 748
Cleveland and the Panic of 1893 753
Selling Bonds to protect the Surplus 755
The Bryan Campaign for Free Silver, 1896 758

CHAPTER XXXVII. A NEW PHASE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY:
Importance of the Pacific 764
The Samoan Incident, 1887–1889 765
The Fur Seal Controversy 767
The Mafia Incident 767
Relations with Chile 768
Hawaiian Annexation 771
Chinese Immigration 774
America and Japan 775
The Venezuela Boundary Dispute 777

PAGE

CHAPTER XXXVIII. THE WAR WITH SPAIN:

Spain and Cuba 782
American Intervention 786
The Work of the Navy 790
Land Operations against Santiago 795
The Destruction of the Spanish Squadron 799
Reflections on the War in Cuba 802
Peace Negotiations 805
Subsequent Relations with Cuba 806

CHAPTER XXXIX. EXPANSION AND ITS PROBLEMS:

The Philippines as an American Colony 809
An American Colonial Policy 813
An Isthmian Canal 814
The Canal at Panama 817
Canal Construction 821
American Diplomacy in the Orient 822
The Alaskan Boundary 825
The New Monroe Doctrine 826

CHAPTER XL. THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF ROOSEVELT AND TAFT:

Roosevelt's Corporation Policy 829
Roosevelt's Second Term 832
Taft's Administration 837
The Presidential Election of 1912 843
Legislative Progress under Taft 849

CHAPTER XLI. POLITICAL MEASURES OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION:

A New Administration 853
The Underwood Tariff 856
The Federal Reserve Banking Act 858
Laws Relating to Great Corporations 860
Our Caribbean Policy 863
Dealing with Mexico 867

CHAPTER XLII. THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD WAR:

Trying to Preserve Neutrality, 1914–1917 873
The Awakening of the People of the United States 878
At War with Germany — A Year of Preparation 882
The American Expeditionary Forces in France 886
American Troops to the Rescue 888
Operation in the American Sector 891
The United States Navy and the War 896
The Treaty of Versailles 897

PAGE

The Campaign of 1920 904

CHAPTER XLIII. THE HARDING AND COOLIDGE ADMINISTRATIONS:

Problems of General Demobilization 908
Railway and Shipping Legislation 910
The Return to a High Tariff 912
Farm Depression and Labor Troubles 914
A New Immigration Policy 917
The Washington Disarmament Conference 919
Death of Harding: The Oil Scandals 922
The Election of 1924 925
Financial Relations with Europe 927
Mexican and Central American Affairs 928
The Kellogg Multilateral Pact 930
The Farm Relief Issue 931
National Perplexity with Prohibition 934
The Campaign of 1928 936

INDEX 941

FULL-PAGE MAPS

FACING PAGE

Physical Features of the United States 9
Early Explorations 30
The North during the Revolutionary War 184
The Northwest during the Revolution 202
The Revolutionary War in the South 208
The United States at the Close of the Revolution 216
California and Mexico, 1846 448
The United States during the Civil War 528
Operations in the East 550
The Battlefield of Gettysburg 558
The Transportation Problem of the South 574
The Far West 678
Territorial Development (*double page*) 792
The Panama Canal 820
The Battle Area of France during Four Years of War 886
The Capture of the St. Mihiel Angle 892
The Meuse-Argonne Region 894

MAPS IN THE TEXT

PAGE

Bunker Hill and Boston 181
Campaign around New York 189
Valley Forge, Philadelphia, and Brandywine 193
The Saratoga Campaign 196
The Siege of Yorktown 213
The Canadian Border 322
Washington and Vicinity 329
The Erie Canal 366
The Gulf Region 369
The Vicksburg Campaign 532
Operations around Atlanta 537
The Santiago Campaign 797

CHAPTER I

THE CONTINENT AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

Physical Factors in American History

The history of the United States, like that of other countries, has been modified by physical environment. Nature has determined where man should begin to penetrate the continent, his routes of communication between the various portions of the country, and the resources out of which he has built up the national wealth. Climate has limited achievement, or aided it, the soil has determined the form of labor, and rainfall has marked out the area he inhabits. In some respects he has overcome natural conditions, but in most things he has had to conform his actions to them. Speaking generally, nature has been favorable to man in the United States. Says Shaler: "There is no area, in either of the Americas, or for that matter in the world outside of Europe, where it would have been possible to plant English colonies, that would have been found so suitable for the purpose."

The Influence of Nature.

The area of the United States, exclusive of Alaska and the island possessions, is 3,026,789 square miles, which is less than that of Europe by 725,000 square miles. Great irregularities mark the coast line of Europe and facilitate political subdivision. Our own coast line is relatively regular, and most of the interior is one vast river system. The Appalachian Mountains are not a formidable barrier between the coastal plain and the interior, since they are easily penetrated in Pennsylvania and fall away entirely in Georgia and New York. The Rockies are much higher, but they were not reached before the day of railroads, and through means of this invention most of their difficulties disappeared. It has therefore happened that the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific constitute one nation. They are relieved of the burdens which opposing interests lay upon the powers of Europe, and the size of the country has given it great influence in international affairs.

Effects of Territorial Unity.

Through this extent of territory there is a wide range of climate, but the mean temperature is mild. The fact that a great plain extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean without the interruption of a mountain chain accounts for a wide variation in temperature for a given point. Through this means mighty currents of heated atmosphere are carried far northward in

Climatic Variations.

summer and cold waves come far southward in winter. As a result, Arkansas, for example, has the winter climate of Edinburgh and the summer climate of Spain, while Minnesota has summers like those of Venice and winters as cold as those of Scotland. The Pacific coast, protected from the disturbing force of the currents in the interior of the continent, has a more stable climate; but the Appalachians are not high enough to shield in a similar way the Atlantic coast.

Rainfall.

In all parts of the United States there is adequate rainfall except near the Rocky Mountains. An area beginning with the eastern slope of this range and extending westward to the Sierra Nevada range is deficient in this respect. A large part of it yields grass for ranches, but one fourth of it is entirely arid and makes a great desert with no vegetation except alkali plants and prickly shrubs. Much of this general region may be reclaimed by irrigation, and in 1902 Congress provided means of reclamation which will eventually bring these parts within the area of fertile production. Two ocean currents modify the climate of the United States. The Gulf Stream on the east exerts an influence on the coast as far north as Cape Hatteras; and the Japanese Current, sweeping down from Alaska, where its effects are marked, tempers the winters of all the Pacific slope north of Mexico.

The Atlantic Drainage System.

Means of water transportation are adequate. Harbors are numerous on the Atlantic coast, and rivers suitable for the ships of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are so well distributed that if a line were drawn from Maine to Florida parallel with the coast and one hundred miles inland, there would hardly be a spot east of it which was more than a day's journey from water transportation. This rim of coast received the first colonies, and its natural advantages made easy the introduction of civilization. The plain west of it is traversed by several large rivers which by offering means of communication and an abundance of fertile bottom land marked out the lines of advance for future settlements. This took the frontier to the Alleghanies, to pass

The Passage into the Mississippi Basin.

which three easy routes might be followed; one around the northern end of the range to the lakes, another around the southern end, and another through central Pennsylvania to the upper waters of the Ohio. The Iroquois Indians held back immigration by the northern passage for many years, and the Creeks and Cherokees did the same on the south, so that the first English advance across the barrier was by way of the central route.

Interior Water Courses.

The Mississippi basin, as the central portion of the continent is called, is entered from the sea by three great systems of water communication. One comes from the north by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and gives access to the very heart of the central north. Another is the Mississippi and its tributaries. Its northeastern branches approach within

short distances of the streams which flow into the lakes of the north, and its western and northwestern tributaries penetrate the broad western plains. A third system is the Alabama, which reaches the sea through Mobile bay. Smaller than either of the others, it nevertheless covers a large and important region north of the Gulf of Mexico. The currents of most of these rivers make it difficult for sailboats to come upstream, and the earliest transportation was by flatboat down the river; but the invention of steamboats in 1807 put the navigable rivers of the country entirely under human control.

Harbors and Rivers on the Pacific Coast.

The Pacific slope differs from the Atlantic slope in both harbors and waterways. Only four of the former are important: Puget Sound, San Francisco, San Diego, and the mouth of the Columbia river, which is dangerous. The mountains approach so near to the sea that the coastal plain is too narrow for large streams; but in Oregon and southern California they recede enough to allow the exit of two great rivers which gather their waters in the high grounds of the interior. One of these is the Columbia, which flows through a fertile and well-timbered valley, the home of a numerous people; the other is the Colorado, whose course is twisted through an arid region, which can only hope for development through irrigation.

Canals.

Certain physical features have materially aided in the construction of artificial means of communication. After roads, which with their bridges were early made by the settlers to facilitate travel, canals were next undertaken, usually in order to reach the interior beyond the heads of navigation of the rivers. They generally paralleled small streams whose shallowness made them unfit for navigation. Philadelphia interests, seeking to reach the rich western trade which had its gateway at Pittsburg, planned a canal over the mountains. Starting from Harrisburg it followed the Juniata river to the base of the Alleghanies, where it was forced to stop. On the other side of the range it was resumed along the banks of the Conemaugh and Alleghany rivers to Pittsburg. The ridge between these two links has an elevation of 2491 feet and a width of forty-two miles. Uncompromising advocates of canals proposed a tunnel throughout the whole distance, but a railroad was built instead. There were other attempts to reach Pittsburg from the coast, but the line just mentioned was the most continuous water route that was utilized. Its disadvantages were many, and it was used chiefly for freight, passengers preferring the quicker journey over one of the several post roads to the upper Ohio.

The Pittsburg Route.

When Pennsylvanians developed this line of transportation they had their eyes on a competing system in New York. From the Hudson at Albany to Buffalo is only three hundred and sixty-three miles. Much of the distance is traversed by the Mohawk river, and the highest elevation is only four hundred and forty-five feet above sea

level. To the north are the Adirondacks and to the south the Catskills. The valley is nature's gateway to the West, and as early as 1785 plans were considered for a canal through it. In 1825 they came to fruition when the Erie canal was completed from Buffalo, on Lake Erie, to Albany, on the Hudson. It had two branches, one to Lake Champlain on the north and the other to Lake Ontario, at Oswego. It conducted the commerce of a large area to the port of New York.

The Central New York Route.

The results were striking. In 1826 nineteen thousand boats and rafts were carried down these New York canals to the Hudson. Ship-building sprang up on Lake Champlain, Buffalo became a depot for the furs and other products of the Northwest which formerly found outside markets by way of the St. Lawrence, and the settlement of the lands south of the Great Lakes was given a great stimulus. In 1825 the freight rate from Buffalo to Albany was eighty-eight dollars a ton: twenty-six years later it was less than six dollars. The lake region was thus made tributary to New York, and out of this fact grew the industrial supremacy of that city. Up to this time Philadelphia was the leading American city: it fought hard to retain its supremacy, and its control of the best road to Pittsburg was an important factor; but access to the lake region was worth more in the future development of the country than reaching the Ohio valley. When railroads were invented these two passes were still of great importance. One line followed the Juniata to Pittsburg, and two were built across the level Mohawk plain to Buffalo, where the lack of steep grades makes operating expenses relatively low.

Results of Canal Construction.

Natural Resources

Natural resources have affected the history of the United States as much as means of communication. No colony could prosper without something which it could export for the accumulation of wealth. For the earliest comers such articles were furs and fish. They were in ready demand in Europe and attracted the attention of hardy adventurers before the New World was seriously thought of as a place for colonization. Fur traders and fishermen established temporary stations on the coast in advance of permanent settlements, and thus called the world's attention to the resources of the continent.

Early Importance of Furs and Fisheries.

Furs abounded in all parts of America, but they were better in the colder parts. The earliest traders came into harbors, usually at the mouths of rivers, where the natives met to barter skins for goods. As the trade developed they went up the rivers into the interior, generally establishing trading houses at the heads of navigation, as at Hartford on the Connecticut, Albany on the Hudson, and Richmond on the James.

Fur Traders as Pioneers in the Interior.

Next, individual traders went out from these centers to remote parts, gathering the furs from the natives rather than waiting for them to be brought to the stations. In every case the advent of settlements was the signal for the disappearance of the trade. To-day when the whole continent is known to man, furs are found only in the frozen parts of the north, where the climate forbids ordinary pursuits. In the interior, as well as on the coast, the fur trader marched in advance of the frontier. He explored unknown parts and revealed to the settlements the portions best suited for habitation, he discovered the best means of penetrating the interior, and he established important relations with the Indians.

Even earlier than the fur trader was the fisherman. The many indentations of the Atlantic coast abound in mackerel and salmon; but more important still was the cod, whose proper habitat is the coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. At the coming of the colonists this fish was found as far south as the cape which now bears its name. It was then already well known in Europe; for enterprising fishermen from England and France were taking it on the banks of Newfoundland many years earlier. "The knob headed, richly fat, and succulent codfish," as Weeden calls it, is probably the most popular of our food fishes. Its special advantage is its excellent keeping quality when salted and dried. With mackerel it was widely sold in the Catholic countries of western Europe, where fish was demanded for use on Fridays. The poorer cod and mackerel were sent to the West Indies, where planters bought them for their slaves. The New England fisheries developed rapidly from the first and became the basis of an important foreign trade.

Development of the Fisheries.

Taking the cod supported an important sea-going population. The eastern towns of Massachusetts — Boston, Gloucester, Marblehead, Salem, Ipswich — were the centers of the industry. With the establishment of fishing on the coast the cod disappeared in that region; but the New Englander followed it north as far as the Newfoundland banks. A ship of fifty tons and a crew of seven were considered adequate for the business; and if fishing were good, they might expect to take six hundred quintals a year. The men served for shares, and the owner of the boat got a share for his capital. A ship's company was selected for steadiness, agility of mind and body, and companionable qualities. The association was apt to be renewed from season to season, and it promoted the development of reliable and efficient coöperation. The fisheries bred sailors for the merchant marine and later for the navy. With the advance of the eighteenth century capital played a relatively larger part in the cod fisheries; larger ships were used, and wealthy men who furnished outfits became a chief factor in the industry. Out of this form of fishing grew whaling, which the hardy

Manner of taking the Cod.

Whaling.

New Englanders carried to the North, and South, Atlantic, and finally to Pacific waters. The trade in cod and mackerel had the peculiar advantage that it brought specie into the colonies at an early day, when it was much needed.

Another important resource in the United States is lumber. Forests originally covered the entire Atlantic coast and all of the Mississippi basin but the prairies, which occurred in restricted areas north of the Ohio and in a large territory from the Rocky Mountains to a line somewhat west of the Mississippi. The Pacific coast itself is well wooded, but the rainless region from the Sierras to the Rockies is largely without forests. The settlers attacked the forests with avidity. Masts for all the shipbuilding countries of Europe, staves and lumber for the treeless West Indies, and naval stores from the Carolina pines were some of the first forest products. As the frontier was extended inward from the coast lumbering assumed better organized forms, saw mills lined the rivers, and forest products became of greater importance. From lumbering the colonists quickly proceeded to shipbuilding, making excellent vessels for their own use and after a while for sale in Europe and the West Indies. As the frontier proceeded westward the attacks on the forests became most profligate. Thus a large part of the timber of the country was wastefully consumed before the people came to realize the importance of preserving it.

Forests and Lumber.

In fertility the soil of the United States compares favorably with that of Europe. It is peculiarly rich in limestone, which is favorable to the growth of grain and grass. A large proportion of the land is tillable, and even the mountain ranges of the Atlantic slope may be brought largely into cultivation through sufficient effort. There are few great swamps, the Dismal in North Carolina and the Everglades in southern Florida being the only considerable ones on the Atlantic coast. The openness of the country made settlement easy in the early stages, and it has facilitated the extension of the frontier through the interior.

Soil.

All the territory north of the Susquehannah and half of that north of the Ohio was once in the grasp of a great glacier. The effects were: 1, to leave the soil full of stones which must be removed before it could be cultivated successfully. This was particularly true of New England, where, it is estimated, an average of thirty days' labor was necessary to clear of stones each acre of land; 2, Glaciers leave behind them a tough clay soil which requires years to bring it into profitable production, but when once subdued it is not easily exhausted. Shaler asserts that he has never known this kind of soil to become worn out through cultivation. The Indians were not able to subdue the New England soil, and they were, therefore, not numerous enough seriously to impede the early attempts at colo-

The Glacial Period.

The New England Soil.

nization. The whites succeeded better, but the difficulty was so great that agriculture progressed slowly in that region. Many of the people turned to other forms of industry, especially to trade and, in later years, to manufactures, for which their excellent water-power was adapted. This struggle with nature, it is believed, has also stimulated thrift, self-restraint, and resourcefulness in the inhabitants; and the establishment of manufactures has promoted town building. The social results have been important.

Soil in the South.

In the South, on the other hand, the tillable soil was fertile, though more easily exhausted. It was also abundant and cheap, so that the settlers had a tendency to take up large holdings. To work these plantations it was necessary to have a permanent labor supply, persons who would not become landowners themselves in the presence of the unusual opportunity for acquiring farms. No such laboring class could be had from Europe, but it could be found in Africa, and the result was negro slavery. Slave plantations became the rule, and they were so profitable that manufacturing was excluded, trade was reduced to simple forms, and the South was given almost wholly to agriculture.

In the West.

In the Northwest the prairies were easily and rapidly settled. Immigrants quickly became rich farmers. Never was the American frontier more prosperous and more democratic. Cities were built rapidly, and railroads, commerce, and all the other forms of a complex society were suddenly reared upon the luxuriant state of agricultural prosperity. In California a favorable soil and an equable climate have united to support a great fruit raising industry.

River Bottom Land.

The lands adjacent to rivers have played an important part in the history of the country, especially on the Atlantic coast and in the lower Mississippi basin. They were most accessible to the early inhabitants and had greatest fertility. They were the first lands reduced to cultivation, and when they were occupied the settlers turned to the tributary streams, where the bottom lands were less extensive. When the black borders of this drainage skeleton were taken up and made arable, the higher regions between them were attacked. The best plantations were the river plantations, and because their owners were rich, and could afford to own large tracts, here were found the large plantations. This was somewhat true of the Connecticut, and essentially true of the Hudson and of all the Southern rivers.

Food Products.

Raising their own food has never been a problem for Americans, since all parts of the continent are fertile enough for that, — and the colonists, once past the initial scarcity due to difficulty of adjustment to a new location, had no anxiety on this score. They were more concerned with having some staple crop for export which should serve as the basis of wealth. New Eng-

land could promise little in this respect. Some corn, vegetables, and beef could be spared from home consumption, but high freights to Europe forbade sending them thither. The West Indies and the fishing stations of the North offered but a small market, and the middle colonies were competitors for it. With the increase of transportation facilities much grain was sent abroad from the latter colonies, the precursor of a trade which with the development of the West has become a great factor in our industrial life.

Staple Crops.

Three staple crops developed in the colonial period; tobacco in Virginia and Maryland and rice and indigo in South Carolina and Georgia. Late in the eighteenth century sugar became a staple in Louisiana. All were profitable and facilitated the rapid development of the regions in which they were grown. After the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 cotton became the leading staple of the country. It was grown throughout the South below Virginia and Kentucky from the foothills of the Alleghanies to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. With the development of the country many other crops have become vastly important. Of them wheat and corn are of first rank and must be called staples in a large part of the Mississippi basin.

Indian Corn.

In the days of settlement Indian corn was a most prevalent food supply. Besides having excellent nourishing qualities, it was more easily cultivated in newly cleared ground than any other grain. Following the custom of the Indians, the colonist removed the undergrowth from the forest, killed those trees he did not care to uproot, and dropped the seed in the spaces between stumps and dead trunks. European wheat could not have grown or been harvested under such conditions. Corn has, also, these other advantages; it remains uninjured on the stalk for weeks after it is ripe, it keeps well in indifferent barns, its grain is excellent food for man and many of the domesticated animals, and its fodder is good winter forage. Moreover, it grows well in all parts of the country, whereas wheat cannot be raised with profit in most of the Southern states.

Mineral Deposits.

The mineral resources of the United States, which are abundant, were little exploited before the revolution. In that period men were satisfied to clear land, build roads, and develop trade, naturally the first tasks to be done in a new country. Our revolutionary period happened to coincide with one of the turning points in the world's industrial history. The steam engine, the blast furnace, and power machinery came into existence at nearly the same time. Following them came a great demand for coal and the metals used in ordinary forms of industry, and the rapid development of manufactures in the early part of the nineteenth century gave an added impulse to the process. The mining of coal and iron on a large scale opened the new period. When these two minerals are found together and close to water transporta-

Coal and Iron.


PHYSICAL FEATURES
OF THE
UNITED STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
KEY
Over 6,000 feet above Sea Level
From 4,000 to 6,000 ft.
From 2,000 to 4,000 ft.
From 1,000 to 2,000 ft.
From 0 to 1,000 ft.
Longitude
121°
111°
101°
49°
39°
29°
DOMINION
Saskatchewan R.
Fraser
VANCOUVER I.
Juan de Fuca Strait
C. Flattery
Puget Sound
MT. BAKER
MT. RAINIER
MT. ST. HELENS
MT. ADAMS
MT. HOOD
Columbia
CASCADE MTS.
COLUMBIA PLATEAU
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
GREAT PLAINS
Missouri
Missouri River
Yellowstone River
Edge of Cultivation
MT. JEFFERSON
MT. SCOTT
MT. PITT
OREGON TRAIL
Snake R.
C. Blanco
C. Mendocino
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
FREMONT PEAK
Big Horn R.
BLACK HILLS
N. Platte R.
Niobrara R.
Cheyenne
Arkansas
Great Salt Lake
Sierra Nevada
San Francisco
San Joaquin R.
Sacramento R.
Sevier Lake
WASATCH MTS.
Green R.
Grand R.
LONGS PEAK
Platte R.
Smoky Hill R.
MT. WHITNEY
Tulare L.
SIERRA NEVADA MTS.
PIKES PEAK
Arkansas R.
Pt. Conception
GREAT BASIN
COLORADO PLATEAU
GRAND CANYON
Colorado R.
SAN BERNARDINO MTS.
SAN FRANCISCO MTS.
Santa Fe
Canadian
San Diego
Gila R.
GILA WASON ROUTE
Rio Grande
Pecos R.
Rio
Nueces R.
Grande
LOWER CALIFORNIA
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN


91°
81°
71°
James Bay
C A N A D A
Albany R.
Lake Nipigon
Rainy Lake
LAKE SUPERIOR
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
Georgian Bay
THE GREAT LAKES
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
L. ONTARIO
L. ERIE
APPALACHIAN HIGHLAND
ADIRONDACK MTS.
CATSKILL MTS.
WHITE MTS.
Connecticut R.
Hudson R.
Massachusetts Bay
C. Cod
LONG ISLAND
New York Bay
C. May
Delaware Bay
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
C. Charles
C. Henry
James R.
Roanoke R.
C. Hatteras
C. Lookout
C. Fear
Pee Dee R.
Savannah R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Ohio River
Illinois R.
Wabash R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Trinity R.
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
Suwanee R.
St. Johns R.
Apalachicola R.
Delta of the Mississippi R.
Tampa Bay
PENINSULA OF FLORIDA
C. Canaveral
L. Okeechobee
BAHAMA ISLANDS
C. Sable
Florida Strait
GULF OF MEXICO
CUBA
Williams Engraving Co., N. Y.
rom Greenwich
91°
81°

tion they furnish the basis of great industrial activity. They represent enormous values in themselves, they support a large body of laborers, and they enter so extensively into modern production that many manufactories are sure to spring up in the neighborhood. The result is rich and densely settled areas, numerous cities, and the various important influences which naturally accompany them. Most parts of the United States are near coal deposits, but the richest coal-bearing area is that lying chiefly on the western slope of the Alleghanies extending from northern Alabama in the southwest to southern New York in the North. This belt at the southern part is about thirty miles broad, but near the northern end it spreads out in a great bulb reaching from Cumberland, Maryland, to Newark, Ohio. The deposit in most of the region is bituminous, but in the northeastern part, near Scranton, Pennsylvania, is a rich anthracite field, an area of four hundred and seventy-two square miles, which surpasses in mineral wealth any other region of the same size in the world.

The anthracite coal fields were discovered in 1790 by a hunter whose strange stories of stones that burned in his campfire attracted attention. Investigation revealed on the Mauch Chunk a hill of excellent coal fifty feet high with a surface of forty acres. It was long before the people came to understand the use of anthracite, or "stone coal." Tradition relates that when it was first offered for sale in Philadelphia in 1812 purchasers were unable to burn it and drove the seller out of town for a swindler. Another story is that an iron manufacturer not long after this tried to use it in his furnace. All the forenoon he poked at the fire to make it burn, but had no success. Finally he closed the furnace door in disgust and went to his dinner. On his return the coal was burning brightly; he had left the drafts open, and the accident is supposed to have revealed the secret of the use of anthracite coal. At any rate, this fuel has been widely used in America from about 1825.

Discovery of Anthracite.

Most of the Alleghany coal fields are bituminous. The best portion of them is around Pittsburg, where there are, also, good deposits of iron ore and limestone necessary for iron smelting. Other rich portions of the general field are in eastern Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, northern Georgia, and Alabama. Another considerable bituminous coal field is the Central. It lies in Indiana, Illinois, and western Kentucky, with sporadic deposits in some of the neighboring states. Its total area is fifty thousand square miles, and the block coal which it yields is very satisfactory for furnaces. In the Rocky Mountains are much lignite and some bituminous coal. On the Pacific coast are moderate deposits in California, Oregon, and Washington; and recent investigation has shown valuable deposits in Alaska.

Distribution of Coal Deposits.

The coal supply of the United States is greater in proportion to the national area and more accessible than that of Europe. We have one

square mile of coal for every ten square miles of surface: Europe has one for one hundred and eighty-eight. Besides this, our seams are thicker and nearer the surface. In industrial endurance we are, therefore, likely to surpass any other continent, except Asia, where China has immense beds. These coal beds bring the Orient into the range of world politics, and are apt to bring our own Pacific coast into close relations with that part of the world in the future.

Iron Works.

Iron ore was worked in most of the colonies before the revolution. At that time furnaces were fired with charcoal, which was plentifully obtained from the forests. Most of the enterprises were small. There were smelting furnaces, bloomeries for the production of wrought iron, and hammers for making bars; and the total output gave the colonists a large part of their iron implements, and iron in some forms was sent abroad.

Roebuck's invention in 1760, by which coal was used in blast furnaces, and the introduction in 1790 of the steam engine to operate the blast caused a revolution in iron mining. Charcoal furnaces were discarded, and the iron industry in the United States was confined to the regions which yielded mineral coal. Western Pennsylvania became a very important center of the industry, and northern Ohio in the Cleveland region, where the rich ores from Lake Superior could meet by water transportation the coal from the Alleghany coal region, became not only noted for the earlier forms of iron working, but it became the home of many factories established to produce the articles in which iron is the chief material. The same thing may be said of other regions, as West Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and northern Alabama. The Alleghany and Central coal fields, and the regions contiguous to them, seem, therefore, to be one of the most important underlying physical factors of our history, and one which will probably gain influence in the future.

Mineral Oil.

Coal oils are abundant in the upper Ohio valley and are found in paying quantities in other regions, as Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas. In regions where there has been little geological disturbance they accumulate beneath the surface in great lakes. There is, also, in the Ohio valley and extending eastward into Virginia, an area of oil-bearing shale as large as the states of New York and Pennsylvania combined. It is one hundred and fifty feet deep and ten per cent of it is oil. If satisfactory means can be found to extract this product, it will become a vast resource when the oil deposits proper are exhausted.

Gold.

Gold in lodes is found on the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to central Alabama. Before its discovery in California in 1849 it was mined profitably in the southern part of this eastern belt, but the greater productiveness of the western fields has made it nearly unprofitable to work the eastern mines. All the Cordilleran region contains gold, and its discovery in California led to great results.

Very rich mines have been opened in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and other neighboring states. The last notable gold area discovered in America is the Klondike fields, opened in 1897. Although they are in Canadian territory access to them is through Alaska, and the historical results in that territory have been important. In 1859 two prospectors, Comstock and Jenrode, found a rich silver region on Mount Davidson, at what is now Virginia City, Nevada. Rapid developments followed, other regions were discovered, and it was at length seen that in Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Montana, and Wyoming were vast deposits. This development, with the progress of gold mining, gave a strong stimulus to the settlement of the mountain region. Railroads were built, the Indians were pressed back, states were created, and important industrial and political consequences followed.

Silver.

The natural conditions in the United States which most affect manufactures are factory power and labor supply. In the earliest times the most important form of the former was water-power. In New England the coastal plain is narrow and comparatively precipitous. Here water-power is excellent, and it was utilized long before the revolution. The coming of steam power lessened New England's advantage in this respect, but did not remove it entirely. As the coal supplies are reduced, water-power, whose force is constant, must tend to recover something of its former superiority. South of New England the coast plain becomes wider and the rivers have less fall. In the Carolinas the plain is so level and the evaporation through the long summers so great that water-powers are not very important, and only on the largest rivers is there a constant supply throughout the year. Generally speaking, the region between the Appalachians and the Rockies is level, and good water-power is scarce; but there are exceptions, the most notable being Niagara Falls, where there is great possibility for service. That part of the Pacific coast which lies between the Coast Range and the Sierra Nevada Mountains has good water-power. The Willamette near Portland has a fall of forty feet which produces energy equal to a million horsepower.

Water-power.

Early Inhabitants

The most recent investigations have tended to show that man existed in England, Germany, and Java either within or before the glacial period, the basis of the contention being the discovery of very early skulls. His earliest authentic traces in America do not point to so remote a period. We have, however, a disputed claim, which, if conceded, would give the American man a very early origin. In 1866 workmen digging a mine-shaft in Calaveras county, California, reported the discovery of a human skull in gold-bearing gravel of what is generally held to be the pliocene age, although

The Calaveras Skull.

some geologists have made it as late as pleistocene. The existence of human life at so early a time was so improbable that a dispute at once arose as to the genuineness of the discovery, with the result that most authorities rejected the claim because the skull was found by untrained persons, or concluded that it was either intruded into strata artificially or that the strata themselves were irregular. The reported discovery in 1913 of a skull in pliocene strata in Sussex county, England, would, however, if confirmed by experts, give some support to those who defend the Calaveras skull.

Drift Man.

Another claim is that the presence of man in the glacial period, or immediately afterwards, is shown by finding stone implements fashioned by man in river drift along the Delaware river and in Ohio and Minnesota. This claim is also disputed, the supposition being that the implements found were intruded from the surface at a much later period. The controversy over this matter has been long and warm, but the defenders have found a valuable ally in Volk, whose recent investigations have enabled him to say that the existence of man on the Delaware in the glacial period cannot be doubted.

The Lansing Skulls.

A surer basis of reasoning is the skulls found in 1902 at Lansing, Kansas, in a silt stratum on the banks of the Missouri. Two opinions arose as to their antiquity. One held that they were deposited in the glacial or post-glacial period and were covered by *débris* which the river brought down from the melting glaciers. Others held that they were deposited much later and were covered with silt by the shifting currents of the Missouri. The second view is more conservative, and has been generally accepted. By it the Lansing skulls have been in position not less than one thousand, and possibly thirty thousand, years. Investigation shows that the skulls are those of American Indians. Eliminating the claims not universally received, they seem to be the earliest evidence of man in America.

"Mound Builders."

In various parts of the United States are earth mounds of great antiquity. Some are conical, others elongated, others pyramidal, and others are irregularly shaped. The first class are usually burial mounds: the uses of the others are not known. Some persons have been able to discern in the irregular ones a resemblance to certain animals, as the Serpent Mound in Adams county, Ohio. They are so far superior in construction to the works of the Indians whom the whites found in North America, that it was thought that they were made by a distinct race. This conclusion is now generally discredited. It is agreed that they are of Indian origin, although they probably were created by a superior and now forgotten branch of that race.

Of similar interest are the "Cliff Dwellers," so called from the nature of their dwellings, placed on inaccessible ledges on the steep sides of

cañons in the southwest. They lived chiefly in the Mesa Verde region of Colorado, where their houses vary in size from one room to more than a hundred. The buildings were evidently made in secure places to protect the occupants from the attacks of stronger, though less civilized, enemies who roamed the plains. Their walls were of stone, and in the ruins are found evidences of a culture more advanced than that of most of the Indians. It was formerly assumed that the "Cliff Dwellers" were a distinct race, but it is now believed that with the Pueblo Indians, the ancient Mexicans, the Mayas of Yucatan, and the early Peruvians, they were only more highly cultivated branches of the one original American race which survives in the Indians.

"Cliff Dwellers."

The Indians

There has been much speculation about the origin of this race, but no theory advanced has been free from serious difficulties. The only point definitely received is that at one time northeastern Asia and northwestern America "formed one culture area"; but it cannot be asserted that the Americans came from Asia or that the Asians came from America. Future investigation may give more satisfactory results, but in a field where so much is doubtful we are for the present forced to suspend judgment.

Origin of Indians.

Although there is unity of general characteristics, there are striking variations in the Indians, and it has become the rule to group the tribes by these variations, the most notable of which are in culture, physical characteristics, and language. Linguistic differences are most easily observed, and language is taken as the basis of the groups, or families, as they are called. But this kind of variation does not always coincide with the others, and sometimes we find a small number of Indians remotely settled from those to whom by language they seem to be closely related. On this basis the United States Bureau of Ethnology divides the Indians north of Mexico into fifty-nine families, the most important of which are:

Classification of Indians.

1. *The Algonquian Family*, inhabiting Canada from Hudson's Bay southward and extending west as far as British Columbia, and in the United States covering all New England, New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, most of Maryland and Virginia, and practically all of the Ohio valley, with the Northwest as far as the upper waters of the Mississippi. Among them were the Algonkins proper, Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohegans, Powhatans, Pamlicos, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Kickapoos, Illinois, Fox, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes. Here one sees the irregularity of the geographical distribution of tribes linguistically related. The Algonquian group on the north Atlantic coast was divided from the central body by the Iroquoian family, which persistently held the country between Lake Erie and the Hudson, and

far south were the Pamlicos in North Carolina, while much farther west, beyond a vast country occupied by a Siouan stock, were the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. By what means the sporadic tribes became isolated from the great mass of the family is not known.

2. *The Iroquoian Family*, whose chief group lived in New York and western Pennsylvania, on both shores of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and on the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec. There were two southern groups, not connected with one another or with the northern group: one was the Cherokees in the southern extremity of the Appalachian Mountain chain, and the other comprised the Tuscaroras and Nottoways in eastern North Carolina. Of the northern group the tribes of greatest historical significance were: the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, — generally called "The Five Nations," — and the Conestogas, Eries, and Wyandots or Hurons.

3. *The Muskhogean Family*, who occupied most of Georgia, the upper strip of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and that part of Tennessee lying south and west of the Cumberland. The chief tribes were the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Alabamas, and Apalachis.

4. *The Siouan Family*, the chief group of which lived west of the upper Mississippi and throughout most of the Missouri valley. It included the Dakotas, Omahas, Winnebagos, Crows, Iowas, Missouris, and the Osage Indians. An eastern group lived in the western Carolinas, where their principal tribe was the Catawbas. A small sporadic tribe, the Biloxis, lived on the Gulf coast east of the mouth of the Pearl river.

5. *The Caddoan Family*, whose home on the Gulf west of the mouth of the Mississippi extended northward so as to cover most of Louisiana, the eastern half of Texas, and the southern parts of Arkansas and Indian Territory. The historically important tribes were the Caddos, Pawnees, and Wichitas.

6. *The Shoshonean Family*, living in western Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, northern Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Oregon, and parts of Wyoming and Montana. Its notable tribes were the Shoshones, Comanches, Paiutes, and Utes.

7. *The Shahaptian Family*, living chiefly in southern Washington. Their important tribes were the Nez Percé, Umatillas, and Walla Wallas.

8. *The Salishan Family*, whose home was in northern Washington and British Columbia, and whose chief tribe was the Spokanes.

9. *The Athapascan Family*, who lived chiefly on the northern Pacific coast from British Columbia to Alaska, and extended into the interior so as to fill up the McKenzie valley. But there was a detached group in western Oregon, another in California, and still another in New Mexico and parts of Arizona and Texas, where lived the long remembered Apaches and Navajos.

10. *The Eskimauan Family*, living in Arctic regions from Greenland

and Labrador on the east to the region beyond the Aleutian Islands on the west. They are divided by localities into Greenland, Labrador, Central, Alaskan, Aleutian, and Asiatic.

The classification includes, also, a large number of very small families, more than thirty of which are upon the Pacific slope. It represents with reasonable accuracy the distribution of the more important historic families at the time they came within the knowledge of Europeans. The distance at which some detached tribe is located from the mass of the family indicates how far the Indians must have wandered, searching for good hunting grounds or impelled by struggles with other tribes. The dialectic differences between separated portions of the same family seem to indicate the lapse of long periods since separation.

The Indians had little capacity to subdue nature. Hunting and fishing were ever the chief means of subsistence of most of the tribes, and, except in a few quiet groups of the warm Southwest, agriculture was subsidiary to these natural supplies. Where so much depended on outside resources habits varied widely with environment. Not only means of support, but the character of the houses, and to some extent social and religious ideals, were modified by external conditions. Thus it happened that in the area occupied by one of the large families there were apt to be wide variations of culture, and classification by culture would give different groups from the linguistic divisions. It is only through recent investigations, largely by the United States Bureau of Ethnology, that enough has been learned about the languages of the various tribes to make a trustworthy classification on that basis, which is accepted as most fundamental.

Irregularities of Classification.

Indian Culture

The Indians lived in tribes, and most tribes were divided into clans. The basis of clan unity was kinship, although some members came in by adoption. Each clan had a totem, some animal or plant to which the members stood in special relation, and by whose name it was known, as "Wolf," "Bear," or "Turtle." Some believed themselves descended from the totem, others had no such idea. Marriage within the clan was strictly forbidden, usually under penalty of death. The wife retained membership in her own clan, and as her children took her clan, they had no clan-relation with their father's clan. This was the only kinship the aborigines knew anything about. They did not inherit the father's movable property, but took that of the mother. His possessions, if he left any, went to his own clan kindred. They could not go to his brothers' children, since they would follow the clan of their mothers, but passed to his sisters' children, who alone of his mother's children could be kin to him. If a man were killed, his clan held the murderer's clan responsible, either taking

Clans.

"blood revenge," or demanding money instead. For one member to kill another member of the same clan was exceedingly shocking to the Indian's feelings, and they were loath to punish him with death, since that involved the shedding of a fellow member's blood. In some tribes the difficulty was obviated by first outlawing the murderer, after which he could be dealt with. The clan was the strongest knit of the social units, and its position was fundamental in Indian society. It had a kind of sanctity through blood, as is illustrated by the fact that some clans had the privilege of furnishing chiefs to the tribes.

The clan had two kinds of leaders, a sachem and a chief. The former had civil function in times of peace, being judge and administrator of the ancient customs. He was elected by consent of the clan members and might be deposed by the same authority. The office was permanent, and must be filled from the men of the clan as soon as there was a vacancy. Adults, men and women, had the right to vote for a sachem, and the choice usually fell on a brother of the deceased, or the son of a sister, never on a son of the former incumbent. The other clans in the tribe must approve of the chosen candidate, and he must be inducted into office with appropriate ceremonies in which the entire nation was represented. As head of his clan he sat in the council of the nation. As there was one sachem for each clan, and as the clans were long established divisions of a tribe, the number of sachems was limited. For example, there were eight clans in the Tuscarora tribe of the Iroquoian family; they were called from their totems the "Grey Wolf," "Bear," "Great Turtle," "Beaver," "Yellow Wolf," "Snipe," "Eel," and "Little Turtle." Each had its sachem, and together they were the most distinguished men of the tribe.

The Sachem.

The chiefs were chosen for military purposes, and on account of some special quality or work. The office was not necessarily continuous, and the existence of a vacancy did not demand a new election. The number of chiefs varied with the size of the clan, in some modern tribes being one for each fifty persons, although this proportion is believed too high for ancient society. The chief was elected by the clan, which could depose him for unworthy conduct. The sachem was the exponent of clan kinship, the chief represented individual prowess. In some tribes there was a head chief, one of the sachems whose ability pleased the tribe. His functions were confined to the intervals between the meetings of the tribal council, and were not important.

The Chief.

The clan and the tribe each had a council. Of the former all the free adult members of the clan, men and women, were considered members. It elected and deposed sachems and chiefs, decided what should be done to avenge or condone the murder of a clan member, adopted new members, and regulated other

The Council.

matters pertaining essentially to the group. It was extremely democratic, and as the lowest unit of government gave tone to the deliberations on affairs too large for its jurisdiction. There was also a tribal council, composed of all the sachems and chiefs within the tribe. It decided upon matters touching the entire tribe, as relations with other tribes or with the whites. Any freeman might attend its meetings and speak his sentiments there: even the women might be heard through an orator whom they chose to speak for them; but the decision was left to the council. The Iroquois, and possibly some other tribes, required that a vote of the council be unanimous.

The Brotherhood.

In some of the large organizations there was a brotherhood, or phratry, a third group which was between the clan and the tribe. It was composed of clans, usually three or four. Its function was social and religious. In the celebrated ball games the two sides would represent two brotherhoods. Disputes between two clans could be appealed to a council of sachems and chiefs from all the clans in the brotherhood. In the funerals of prominent men the brotherhood took conspicuous part, but its governmental functions were never well developed.

Names of Persons.

Naming children was strictly regulated because it bore directly on clan organization. Each individual had two names within his life, one received at birth, the other at maturity; that is, at sixteen at eighteen years of age. Certain names were peculiar to certain clans, and were not given to children of other clans. In some tribes a youth was required to go on the war-path and earn his new name by an act of courage or prowess. This new name must be approved by the tribal council. An adult might change his name if he could get a chief to announce it in council. When a man was elected sachem or chief he took a new name selected for him by the council.

Making War.

In conferring names, and in many other affairs, the authority of the clan or tribe was very great; but in beginning war much was left to the individual. Perhaps it is wrong to speak of the beginning of war. Strictly speaking, wars between the tribes never ended, except those which resulted in alliances. An interval of several years might elapse between outbreaks of hostilities, but within that time each side considered itself in a state of conflict with its enemies. The old men, remembering former trials, might prefer peace, but the young men were apt to desire to fight. Under such circumstances the latter would form a war party under some chieftain of known ability, there would be a war dance, and immediately the party would march against the enemy. Each member would take a pouch filled with Rockahominy, which was parched corn pounded into flour. Between Indian tribes there were usually broad, uninhabited zones, and the hostiles might, therefore, be many miles away. The Catawbas in upper South Carolina had for hereditary

enemy the Delawares, in the Delaware valley. The war party, painted so their mission might be known, marched through this neutral zone supporting themselves on game and fish until they were in the enemy's country, where no fires must be made lest the smoke reveal the approach of the warriors. Now they relied on the Rockahominy. So accustomed were they to fasting that two spoonfuls of it moistened with water and swallowed in haste was sufficient for several hours' nourishment. If they could surprise the foe, they struck quickly and returned with scalps and captives to their home to await some retaliating blow from the injured tribe. While such a war party was out, the rest of the tribe might remain at their peaceful occupations. But when the war was general and all the fighting men were out, they were formed into war bands in the same way, each led by some noted brave under whom the warriors desired to serve.

The Six Nations.

The most distinguished group of North American Indians was the Six Nations of the Iroquoian family, five of whom lived through most of our colonial period in western New York, and the other, the Tuscaroras, in North Carolina. After suffering much from their enemies they established early in the fifteenth century a well-knit confederacy, with a common council and a strongly aggressive policy. They proved themselves the scourge of surrounding tribes. Their ancient enemies were the Algonkins of Canada and New England. They became friends of the white men in New York, and played an important part in the operations against the French of Canada, who early incurred their resentment by helping the Algonkins. A kindred southern branch, the Cherokees, played an important part in the early history of Tennessee and the region south of it.

Other Tribes.

Further southward were the Creeks and other members of the Muskhogean family, very numerous, and for a long time they held back whites in the Gulf region. A large number of tribes classified as the Siouan family lived in the northern Mississippi basin and were represented by some branches on the upper Potomac and in the Piedmont region of the East. They were especially dependent on the buffalo, and followed it westward before the advance of the whites. At the middle of the nineteenth century they were in the vast Missouri valley, and their representatives, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and the Sioux, offered fierce resistance to the whites in the period immediately following the Civil War.

Stages of Indian Resistance.

The white settler's contest with the savage for territory divides itself into well-marked stages. The first colonies, weak and isolated, soon came into conflict with some neighboring small tribes who feared the loss of their land. The Pequot war in New England and the Virginia outbreak of 1622 are illustrations. The victory of the whites in these earliest struggles gave a respite; but as their settlements extended inland a larger number of Indians became alarmed, a stronger combination was formed, and a

sterner struggle ensued. For example, see King Phillip's war in New England, the Tuscarora war in North Carolina, and the Yemassee struggle in South Carolina. Another defeat convinced the savages of their weakness, and there followed another period of peace until the Indians found external allies. On the north it was the French who helped them, and several bloody wars were fought before this combination was broken. On the south outside aid came from Spain, though not openly, and the Indians themselves were numerous enough to be formidable. But the whites were now so well planted that the result was beyond question. From this time Indian wars were frontier struggles, the savages resisting their inevitable fate, sometimes stimulated to it by the designed oppression of white men and mixed breeds who wished an opportunity to seize Indian lands. In this way war has run over the land from ocean to ocean, extinguishing some tribes, greatly depleting others, and forcibly converting the remainder from nomads to agriculturalists.

Indian Character.

In the Indian's character were some of the best and some of the worst qualities. In warfare he was stoically indifferent to his own suffering and also to that of his enemies; he was true to friends and truculent to foes; he was brave in battle, but he stalked his enemies as he hunted wild game, and murdered them by stealth if he could. When it was necessary he was abstemious, at other times he was gluttonous: his virtues and vices were those of the savage. His pathetic passage across the page of history has appealed to the idealist, but his cruelty and vindictiveness awakened horror in most of those who encountered him.

The Indian Mind.

His intellectual development was slight. The most advanced tribes had no system of written language higher than picture writing, which reached the stage of symbolism in Algonquian tribes, and was rudely hieroglyphical in Mexico and Yucatan. His body of tradition, preserved orally, was limited; and his music, chiefly religious, was lacking in harmony, a rhythmic chant with complex structure, designed to fire the will rather than please the ear. In decorative art he was most successful; for although he knew nothing of higher forms, his designs for ornamental pottery, basketry, and weaving had a quiet beauty which appeals to the best modern taste. The same quality appears in the simple beauty of many of his myths.

Religion.

His religion was animism, a belief in the existence of numerous spirits. He was apt to stress most the importance of the spirit he attributed to the thing most influential in his life, as the sun, the rain, or the moon. The tribes of the plains gave high place to the spirit of the buffalo. The name manitou, or mystery, was used by the Algonquian tribes for spirits, and it has become a general term. The early travelers and missionaries spoke of the belief in a "Great Spirit," single and invisible, but ethnologists have found no evidence that the Indian had such an elevated ideal. He believed,

however, that man had a soul — some tribes thought he had several — and that he lived after death in a "happy hunting ground." Some Indians buried their dead, others cremated them, and others preserved them as mummies. A man might make a manitou his friend, and if so he became a shaman, or medicine-man. He could now, through the aid of his manitou, drive away the evil spirit which was thought to inhabit a sick person. He accomplished the work by singing, dancing, and physical manipulations. Frequently the patient recovered: if he died, it was said that he was possessed by a manitou stronger than that of the shaman who treated him. In the more advanced tribes of the Southwest there were associations of shamans to preserve the secrets of their cult, among which were religious ceremonies.

Mythology. Recent comparative studies have thrown much light on Indian mythology. It reveals no well-defined idea of creation. Most of the stories say that the earth once differed from its present condition, and that men and animals then lived and talked together and were the prey of great monsters. There was no daylight or fire, and poverty and misery ruled the world. Finally came a beneficent person who reformed tribes, taught man to improve his habits, and gave him certain inventions. His work of betterment done, he departed to come again. The Messianic quality of this personage probably suggested the idea that the Indians had a belief in a "Great Spirit"; but he was only a culture hero, and not altogether an admirable one; for although he worked for others and had superior intelligence he was sometimes a sharp trickster and was frequently made ridiculous by his opponents.

Houses. The houses of the Indians were sometimes communal and sometimes designed for single families. Of the former the best type is the long house of the Iroquian tribes. It was made of bark and poles, and inner partitions divided it into several compartments. A door at each end and openings in the partitions gave an open passageway from one end to the other. In each alternate opening in the partitions was a fire pit with a hole in the roof above. One family occupied one compartment, and one fire thus served two families. Around the walls of the room were hurdles made of small poles, covered with mats and skins. By day they were benches and by night beds. Sometimes the houses were large and round, with one great fire pit in the center, at which the partitions converged, making triangular compartments.

Pueblos. In a part of our Southwest, Mexico, and Central America the Indians lived in pueblos, the Spanish word for villages. These were great communal houses several stories high, the front wall of each story dropping back so as to make a terrace. In the modern pueblos doors are made in the walls, but formerly the interior was reached through holes in the flat roofs, or floors, of the terraces by means of ladders which were taken up at night or when

there was danger of intruders. The building material was either adobe or rough stones laid in clay mortar. When the whites entered the Southwest there were about sixty-five of these houses there. They were the usual type of Mexican dwelling, and the imaginative Spaniards who first saw them described them as palaces. In Yucatan they achieved a degree of massiveness and ornamentation which indicates, perhaps, the highest point of development in Indian architecture. Tribes of different linguistic stock adopted this kind of house, and the term Pueblo Indians has been used for all of them. It ought to be remembered that it has no family significance.

The Indians and the Whites.

Contact with the white man made it necessary for the Indian to adopt civilized habits or perish. In ordinary social evolution this change would have required many centuries. Stimulated by the liberal government of the United States the more advanced tribes have made progress, the less advanced have caused disappointment to their well wishers. The Cherokee and Muskhogean tribes have shown greatest power of assimilation, both in their eastern homes and in the now obliterated Indian Territory, where they resided for seventy-five years. They show, also, a slight gain in population, which cannot be said of most of the Indians who formerly lived on the western plains and who have been gathered into reservations under government supervision. In contact with civilization the Indian is abnormally susceptible to diseases, particularly smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis. The use of spirituous liquors is also especially harmful. The males generally are averse to manual labor, and agricultural progress has often meant more idleness for the men and more work for the women. Idleness breeds bad habits, which retard racial progress.

Present conditions.

In 1500 there were about half a million Indians in North America, the great majority being in what is now the United States, where, by the best estimates, there are now, 1911, only 322,715. In the latter number are included 101,287 in the five civilized tribes, including freedmen and intermarried whites. During the last half century the Indian population seems to have been about stationary. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles now included in Oklahoma are the five civilized tribes. They are self-supporting and prosperous. In 1911 the total federal appropriation for Indians was $10,452,911. In this year $9,381,232 was spent on Indian education.

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CHAPTER II

THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF AMERICA

Events and Ideas Leading to the Discovery

The first recorded contact of Europe and America was by way of the north. In 874 a Norse colony settled in Iceland and made it a center of culture and prosperity. Two years later a ship blown out of her way returned to Iceland with the story of a great body of land to the westward. For a hundred years no efforts seem to have been made to investigate the report, but in 983 Eric the Red, exiled from the island for manslaughter, solved the mystery, and named the newly discovered country Greenland, because he thought a good name would attract settlers. A colony was planted, the remains of which are still visible, and in the year 1000 his son, Leif Ericsson, arrived from Norway with missionaries to convert the country to Christianity. Vague reports were in circulation of a great land to the west, and he set out to explore it, coming after a time to a slaty shore, which he skirted southward for days, until he came at last to a pleasant place where a river ran out of a lake into the sea. He brought his ship into the haven and explored the country. It abounded in timber and "wild wheat," probably oats; and one of the crew, who came from the vine-growing portion of Europe, discovered grapes still hanging in the autumn sunlight. Leif, thinking, no doubt, that a good name would benefit this land as much as that of his father, called the place Vinland. An attempt to colonize Vinland now followed, and several voyages were made thither within the next twelve years. All ended disastrously. The place was too remote for successful exploitation, and the deeds of the adventurers survived only in the sagas, a part of the heroic achievement of the Norse past. To the people of the time and to those who succeeded them the newly discovered land was not part of a great continent, but only an indefinite No Man's Land beyond the mysterious seas. It was probably what we now know as the shores of Nova Scotia, although some students identify it with the New England coast and point out Martha's Vineyard as the particular spot.

By the Norse.

Vinland.

About 1390 two Venetian brothers named Zeno were employed by the Earl of the Orkneys and Caithness in directing his navy. They were skillful sailors, helping to conquer the Shetland Islands, and about 1394 they made a voyage to

The Zeno Brothers.

Greenland. Stories of a great land to the west were brought in by fishermen, and a few years later the younger brother, with the earl himself, sailed to discover it. The story goes that they found land some days' sail beyond Ireland, and that the earl remained to explore it. Zeno wrote an account of his adventures, which, with some letters and a map, were preserved in the family palace in Venice. In 1558 all that remained of them was published by a descendant, the map confessedly improved by the editor. The text, much of which is lost through neglect, was probably altered to suit the then recently acquired knowledge of the New World. It is impossible to say what Zeno discovered, but he may well have fallen upon some part of the North Atlantic coast, to encounter which was easy if one only sailed long enough west of Ireland.

Neither of these explorations served to bring the American continent within the knowledge of Europe, because (1) the lands discovered were not believed to be parts of a vast mainland, (2) the discoverers were not strong enough economically to develop the new lands, and (3) it was, after all, not a new continent that the Old World was looking for, but a new way to an old one. The voyage of Columbus really discovered America, but before it was made several things prepared the way.

The most important was the disaster which overtook the trade between Europe and the East in the second half of the fifteen century.

Interruption of Oriental Trade.

Spices, silk, perfumes, dyes, precious stones, and other oriental goods were brought west by three principal routes. One was by water along the southern shore of Asia to the Red Sea, thence by caravan to the Nile, and finally to Alexandria. Another was a middle journey by caravan and rivers through Persia and Syria to Acre, Antioch, and other Syrian ports. A third was by river, caravan, and interior seas to the Euxine, where Constantinople was the chief terminus of the trade. To these cities came merchants from Italy, France, and Spain, purchasing the eastern goods and passing them on to the interior and northern towns of Europe. Most aggressive were the traders from Venice and Genoa. From each eastern town they secured privileges of trade with permanent quarters in which they were ruled by their own laws and protected by their own home governments. These quarters, with their inhabitants, became the outposts of a valuable industrial life. Both towns also owned many colonies on the Ægean Islands. In 1453 the Turks seized Constantinople and began to take all the ports of the East, until in 1517 Cairo was taken and Egypt became a Turkish province. Each step in the conquest was followed by trade restrictions. High tariffs were levied, privileges were curtailed, and the island possessions of Venice and Genoa were seized by the conquerors. These disasters were felt by all the Mediterranean merchants, and stimulated a general desire for another way to the East.

Such a route, if discovered, must be by sea, and it must begin at the Straits of Gibraltar. For centuries the ocean beyond this point was a sea of terror on which sailors dreaded to venture. North of the straits the coast was known as far as Scotland and Scandinavia: south of it men sailed as far as Cape Non, about seven hundred miles. The compass and the astrolabe slowly came into use on the Mediterranean during the fifteenth century and enabled the mariner to sail confidently when either land or stars were not in sight. The renaissance of science by the middle of the fifteenth century dominated the minds of learned men and was beginning to reach the more independent spirits in navigation and other practical arts. Before such a process the sea of terror became merely a part of the unknown, and as such invited discovery.

Effects of the Spread of Knowledge.

The first attempts to penetrate its mysteries were made by Portuguese. On the east coast of Africa, south of Egypt, tradition then located the native Christian kingdom of "Prester John," whose power and wealth were much exaggerated in the popular imagination. African traders in Morocco told about interior towns from which roads ran southward to a southern sea into which flowed a river great enough to be compared to the Nile. To pass from Cape Non to the region of Abyssinia seemed possible, and, since it would open a water communication to India, it would be profitable. It was Portugal's fortune to have the man who could lead in this work.

"Prester John."

Prince Henry the Navigator was a younger son of John I. Without family responsibilities or hope of the crown he could follow the promptings of a scientific and adventurous disposition. In 1419 at Sagres, on Cape St. Vincent, he established a home and drew around him a group of intelligent mariners, geographers, and map makers. His father, brother, nephew, and great-nephew, four generations of kings, supported his work and carried it on after his death in 1460. The first results were unimportant. The Madeiras and Azores were rediscovered, explored, and colonized, but the timid captains were afraid to get far away from the shore, and Cape Boyador, under the Tropic of Cancer, was so dangerous that for a long time none dared pass it. But in 1434 Gil Eannes, bolder than his colleagues, sailed far out to sea, doubled the perilous point, and proved that the "Sea of Darkness" was safe.

Prince Henry.

Progress was now more rapid. Year after year an additional portion of the desert coast was observed, until finally, in 1445, Dinis Ferandez passing at last the glinting sands, came to a green point which he called Cape Verd. A fertile country now appeared, peopled by "Moors," or negroes, some of whom were taken to Portugal, where slaves were in demand. It was the beginning of a trade which threatened for a time to defeat the further exploration of the coast. One expedition after another sent to make

West Africa Explored.

discoveries came back with nothing but slaves. In 1455 Cadamosto, passing the Cape Verd Islands, sailed so far into the Gulf of Guinea that it was believed the southern extremity of Africa was turned. His mistake was soon known, and the explorations were pushed on, more slowly after the death of Prince Henry, 1460, until at last in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz sailed past the Cape of Good Hope. The mutiny of his crew forced him to return to Portugal, but the world now knew that Africa could be circumnavigated. The Portuguese discoveries were important because they made explorations popular, created a school of bold navigators willing to attempt any seas, and at last brought men to the fabled East, tales of whose wealth up to that time fascinated the European imagination like a fairy dream. They enlarged the world's knowledge of geography, but threw little light upon the question of the earth's shape.

Revived Belief in the Sphericity of the Earth.

The theory of the sphericity of the earth was held by Aristotle, who died in 322 B.C. He drew his conclusion from the circular shadow of the earth on the moon in eclipse and from the varying altitude of stars, and he announced that one common ocean probably united Spain and India. A century later Eratosthenes in Alexandria applied mathematics to this idea and calculated the circumference of the earth, making it fourteen per cent. too large. Other Greeks, probably very many, accepted sphericity, but it was rejected by the early Christian church, which had its own idea of the cosmos. Arabian scientists kept the spark of knowledge alive through many centuries, and Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century incorporated it in his *Opus Majus*, whence it was abstracted by Pierre d'Ailly for his *Imago Mundi* (1410). The last was a widely read work in the day when explorations and all kinds of new knowledge were exceedingly popular. Astronomers and many others at the end of the fifteenth century were ready to accept the theory independently of the voyage of Columbus. Martin Behaim, a German geographer, in the very year Columbus made his memorable voyage, and without the discoverer's knowledge, made a copper globe with the known lands described on it. In calculating the circumference of the earth the astronomers made a mistake, estimating it at three fourths of its real magnitude. The result was to make China seem six thousand miles nearer Europe than it really is, a fortunate error.

The Story of Marco Polo.

A better knowledge of the East also helped to prepare the way for the discoveries of Columbus. In the later thirteenth century three Venetian merchants named Polo went to Cathay, or China, for trade. One of them, Marco Polo, became a favorite of the ruler, or Grand Khan, and remained many years at the court, where he had opportunity to learn about the extent, geography, and wealth of the country. In 1295 the three returned to Venice with great quantities of gems. In 1298 Marco wrote an

account of his adventures, calling it *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.* Before this time China was believed to be bordered by immense marshes, but he declared that it was washed by a vast ocean and that within this ocean lay Cipango, or Japan, a great island rich in gold and cities. The book fired the imagination of Europe, heightened the charm of the East, and stimulated the hope of reaching the East by sea. If the earth were a globe, why might not the ocean west of the Straits of Gibraltar be the same as that east of Cipango?

Thus through the merchants' desire for a western way to the East, through improvements in navigation, through the slowly evolved conviction that the world was round, and through the better acquaintance with the geography of China, the time was come when some adventurous man would compass the unknown by making a path from the Straits of Gibraltar to fabled Cipango. The scholars believed this possible but had not the courage to attempt it. Navigators had courage to accomplish it but had not the mind to believe in it. Christopher Columbus had the requisite skill and faith. He had also the persistence and endurance necessary to carry him successfully through the initial stages of an enterprise which the world could not understand.

The Achievement of Columbus

The Education of Columbus.

Columbus's father was a wool-worker, but the boy early became a navigator. An age which knows as ours how poor boys of mind become prominent will understand how he turned to the most progressive vocation then open to him. He learned Latin and read diligently the geographical books of the day. He was attracted to Portugal, where he married into the family of a prominent navigator. He sailed as far north as England, possibly to Iceland; and he lived for a time on the island of Porto Santo, north of Madeira. We do not know how he came to believe he could reach China by the west, but we know he mastered all available knowledge on the subject. When he read in a book that the frigid and torrid zones were uninhabitable, he confuted it in the margin on the ground that the Portuguese sailed through the torrid zone and found it inhabited, while the English and the Norse visited the frigid zone. It was sound reasoning to set observation against tradition. But when tradition favored him he accepted it. He saw in the apocryphal book of Esdras that only one seventh of the surface of the earth was water: had he been an equally sound reasoner he would have withheld judgment until some one observed the quantity of earth and water. But Esdras suited his theory, and he accepted the statement without question. The error tended to make him think it was but a short distance from Europe to his goal.

While in Portugal, about ten years before his famous voyage, Columbus learned that Toscanelli, a noted Florentine astronomer, had

announced the possibility of sailing from the west to the east. He wrote to the Italian, asking for instructions, and received in reply a copy of a former letter by the astronomer in which the possibility of the fact in question was asserted, but no directions for making the journey were given. In fact, they could not have been given in the existing state of information about the western seas, for these seas were not explored. Toscanelli perhaps gave Columbus confidence in his ideas, but all the information in his letter was to be found elsewhere.

Columbus and Toscanelli.

Whatever the source, Columbus, when in Portugal, had the conviction that his project was feasible. He talked so much about it that he got the reputation of a boaster, and when he applied to King John II for a ship to test his idea, he was turned aside as a dreamer. It was then 1484, and he betook himself to Spain, where for seven years he urged his plans with little prospect of success. In the interval he sent his brother, Bartholomew, to London to see if help could be secured there. It has been said that Bartholomew gained a promise from Henry VII, but it was given after the king and queen of Spain relented. It was really the queen who gave the assistance. She was induced to do so by her former confessor, Juan Perez, and by the treasurer of Aragon, Luis de Santangel.

Efforts to get Assistance.

To make his voyage, Columbus had three ships fully manned. The expense was assumed by Isabella, who in her own right was sovereign of Castile. The money, 1,000,000 maravedis, $59,000, seems to have been borrowed on the queen's security. The old story that she pledged her jewels is now generally discredited. Columbus was made an hereditary grandee and admiral of Castile, with the right to govern the new lands he should discover. He and his heirs were to have one tenth of all the gold and silver he should find, and they might pay one eighth of the expenses of fitting out any expedition and take a similar portion of the profits thus secured. Letters of introduction to the rulers of the East were also furnished, and with these in his pocket the stern discoverer, raised from the rank of adventurer to that of great lord and friend of sovereign princes, embarked his unwilling crew of less than one hundred men. August 3, 1492, in the early morning, the three ships, the *Santa Maria*, *Pinta*, and the *Niña*, stood out to sea from the port of Palos, sailing first to the Canaries. The first was the largest, and alone, of the three, had a deck. Her tonnage is estimated at one hundred to two hundred and eighty, and that of her companions at one hundred and forty and one hundred respectively. A great event never depended on frailer agencies.

Columbus's Ships.

The Departure.

Stopping at the Canaries to refit, the fleet sailed again on September 6. Fear seized the hearts of the crew as they saw the land disappear on the eastern horizon. They were steering into seas hitherto unexplored, under the orders of a visionary, and

The Voyage.

were full of dismay. Columbus kept a diary of all that happened, reporting it to the queen; but for the sailors he kept another log in which he shortened the distance sailed. No storms were encountered, and the trade winds blew him steadily westward. Scowling at first, the crew at length became sullen, and finally, October 10, threatened to throw the admiral overboard. To none of these difficulties would he yield: "He had come to go to the Indies," he said, "and he would keep on till he had found them with the aid of our Lord." It is well to remember that Columbus's greatness consisted, not so much in his original idea, as in the determined spirit in which he risked his life to execute it.

The Discovery.

On the evening of October 11 lights were seen in the darkness and soon the roar of the surf was heard. At dawn a low green shore was before them, an island which the natives called Guanahani, and which the pious Columbus renamed San Salvador. Its identity is lost, but the best guess is that it was Watling's Island, one of the Bahamas. It was inhabited by naked savages with whom the admiral conversed by signs. They reported a great kingdom to the south, and he turned in that direction, discovering Cuba, which he thought the mainland of India. The natives he called Indians, and the term has persisted to this day. He was impressed by seeing them drawing smoke through tubes made from the leaves of a certain plant, and noted that the natives called these tubes *tobaccos*. Sailing along the eastern half of the north coast of Cuba he came at length to Hayti, which he called La Isla Española, whence Hispaniola. It proved an ill-fated country, for on its shores he lost his best ship, the *Santa Maria*.

Return to Spain.

Columbus's thoughts now turned to Spain, and leaving forty-four men to establish a Spanish post, learn the language of the natives, and plant food crops, he departed early in 1493. Storms harrassed his return, but March 15 he cast anchor at Palos. All Spain echoed with his praise, and news of the discovery quickly ran throughout Europe. Many people doubted if the new lands were really India — among them the king of Portugal, who said plainly they were only a part of Guinea, discovered by the Portuguese and confirmed to his crown by papal bulls and by a treaty with Spain in 1480. A serious quarrel might have followed, but Spain appealed to the Pope, Alexander VI, a Spaniard, and May 3 and 4 he issued two bulls dividing the new lands between the two countries. An imaginary line was authorized one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, all the lands discovered east of it being given to Portugal and all west and south of it going to Spain.

The Papal Bull.

The arrangement was not satisfactory, and it was modified by another bull, September, 1493, and by a treaty between Spain and Portugal, 1494, by which the line of demarcation was fixed at three hundred and seventy leagues west of Cape Verde Islands.

Columbus's reports occasioned great enthusiasm in Spain, and many expeditions were planned. Most of them ended in disappointment, but the work of exploration was forwarded. The king and queen were delighted with their admiral and sent him forth in September, 1493, with seventeen ships and thirteen hundred persons, gentlemen adventurers, laborers, soldiers, and missionaries, to plant a Spanish colony. The settlement was to be under the admiral's absolute authority. A town was laid out in Hayti and called Isabella. Gold mines were found in the interior, and the neighboring natives, always submissive, were ordered to work them and bring in a certain amount of gold each month. A native chieftain, despairing of complying with the order, offered instead to cultivate a large tract of land for the benefit of the whites; but Columbus rejected the plan because he knew that gold alone would be valued in Spain. He saw that if he could not satisfy this desire he would have no support at home. The harsh measures he took with the Indians reduced the native population of the island by two-thirds in three years. When he went to Spain in 1496 many of his returned companions declared that there was no gold in Columbus's Indies; but the admiral managed to produce enough of the precious stuff to satisfy the sovereigns that explorations should continue. A portion of the natives were cannibals, and Columbus suggested that permission be granted to take these to Spain for slaves. He probably hoped by this means to support the explorations, as the negroes from Guinea supported the Portuguese enterprise; but Ferdinand the Catholic was not willing to authorize the enslavement of the natives. Nevertheless Columbus and others sent Indian slaves to Spain, where they were generally liberated. Spite of the efforts of the government, enslavement was practiced in the colonies, until most of the natives of the West Indies disappeared.

Second Expedition.

Treatment of the Natives.

After 1496 Columbus made two voyages, one in 1498 and another in 1502. On the former he steered far southward, hoping to pass all obstructions, reach the Indian ocean, and circumnavigate the globe. To his surprise he encountered a great body of land, about which Marco Polo said nothing, sailing past it for days in a westward direction. A sailor let down a bucket at one point and found the water fresh. It was from the mouths of the Orinoco river, and Columbus rightly concluded that so great a river must flow out of a vast continent. He spoke of it as another world, never doubting, however, that the land discovered to the northward was part of India. His fourth voyage was made to find a passage between this new continent and the old. The journey was delayed by great storms, but steering a more northerly course, he came at length to the coast of Honduras. He sailed south about twelve hundred miles past the Isthmus of Panama, whose narrowness he did

Third and Fourth Voyages.


120°
90°
60°
30°
0°
ARCTIC
OCEAN
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
NORWAY
SWEDEN
60°
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
GREAT
BRITAIN
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
AZORES IS.
MADEIRA
IS.
Mediterranean Sea
C. Lookout
ATLANTIC
30°
BAHAMA
ISLANDS
CANARY
IS.
CUBA
HAITI
TROPIC OF CANCER
CAPE VERDE
IS.
LESSER
ANTILLES
TRINIDAD
AFRICA
Gulf of
Guinea
Congo
R.
0°
EQUATOR
BRAZIL
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Rio Janeiro
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Cape of Good Hope
Buenos Aires
OCEAN
Strait of Magellan
Cape Horn
60°
MAP OF
EARLY EXPLORATIONS
Williams Engraving Co., N. Y.
Longitude 60° West from 30° Greenwich

not suspect, and returned to Spain in 1504 after many hardships. He died two years later, May 20, 1506.

Columbus was most successful as an explorer. Here one needed courage, persistence, intelligence, and faith in a mission; and he had them all. As an administrator he was not successful. He was sensitive, arbitrary, unyielding, and severe. Low-born and a foreigner, he could not govern Spanish noblemen without friction. His appointment to command colonies was unwise and brought him much sorrow. Numerous bitter enemies sprang up among those whom he tried to rule, and their denunciations cut his sensitive spirit deeply. The greatest indignity he suffered was when in 1500 he was sent back to Spain in irons, charged with malfeasance. The spectacle aroused the sympathy of Spain, and the king and queen ordered his release. But his political authority in the New World was annulled, and his monopoly in discovery was limited.

Unhappiness of Columbus.

Exploring the Coasts of the New World

Spain, Portugal, France, and England shared the labor of exploring the world Columbus discovered. Stopped by its position across the pathway to India, their mariners turned northward and southward in search of a way to the Orient. Thus every gulf and bay of importance was explored until at last Cape Horn was passed and the spice islands reached across the vast Pacific. Then they took up the task of exploring the interior, led on by a consuming hunger for precious metal. The rest of this chapter deals with explorations by sea and land.

Two Phases of Exploration.

In this work Spain took the lead. Hayti, colonized by Columbus, furnished a base for expeditions to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Cuba, first circumnavigated in 1508, was immediately thereafter conquered and colonized by Velasquez, and furnished a new and more westerly base. Columbus's third voyage, 1498, developed the coast line for nearly three hundred miles west of Trinidad, and his fourth, 1502, revealed the shore from near the Cape of Honduras past the isthmus to the Gulf of Uraba. In 1499 Hojeda, accompanied by Amerigo Vespucci, sailed for America on an important voyage. He reached the coast near Paramaribo, in Surinam, and sailed west to a point near the terminus of the third voyage of Columbus. North of Honduras, around to the south of Florida, explorations were made by various persons from 1508 to 1522, and during the same period other Spaniards explored the Atlantic coast as far north as Cape Lookout, in North Carolina. This hollow coast line from Trinidad northward to North Carolina, with the islands between, was looked upon by Spain as hers by right of discovery, and the claim was generally allowed.

From Trinidad to Cape Lookout.

To her also belongs the honor of discovering Brazil and the region south of it. In 1499 Vicente Yañez Pinzon sailed for America.

Brazil.

Driven out of his course by a great storm he crossed the equator and made land some distance south of it. Then turning north he followed the coast for two thousand miles, past the mouth of the Amazon, until he set out for home with the wonderful news of a vast continent not hitherto mentioned in any then known account of the East. Before he could reach Spain another adventurer, Diego de Lepe, setting out later than Pinzon and returning earlier, reported a similar discovery in the same region. He reached a point as far south as Cape St. Augustine, in Brazil. Amerigo Vespucci is believed to have accompanied de Lepe. Spain had no advantage from these two important voyages; for Brazil was east of the famous papal dividing line.

The appearance of Vespucci in this narrative is interesting because his name was given to the New World. This came, as we shall see,

Vespucci.

from a piece of fraud committed, not to get the honor of naming the continent, but to create the impression that he first discovered it. He was born in Florence, became a man of business, and in 1492 went to Seville as an agent for the commercial house of the Medici. He became connected with the navigators, whose ships he fitted out, and finally decided to accompany them on some of their voyages. He made four journeys across the ocean, but was the leader of none of them. His fame rests on his faculty of writing and on his willingness to exaggerate his importance in the affairs he describes. He later wrote two letters, in one of which he described his first voyage and in the other all of the four. These letters were widely published and created the impression that the writer deserved to have South America bear his given name.

Vespucci says that he made the first voyage in 1497, that he sailed along the northern coast of South America, and by mentioning no

His Unreliability.

other person as commander of the expedition he gives the impression that the leadership was his. After much investigation and reasonable deduction it is generally conceded that he antedated the expedition by two years in order to place it before that of Columbus in 1498, that he really made it in 1499 in company with Hojeda, who was sole commander, and that his descriptions of the places discovered are almost exactly those of this later voyage. His second journey was made in 1500. Again he omits the name of the commander but says that he himself commanded one of the ships. The latter statement is doubted because it is not supported by the fairly complete naval records of the time. His third and fourth voyages are not important, being made to places admittedly already discovered.

Vespucci's letter describing his third voyage was published in Latin in 1503 with the title *Mundus Novus*. It is the first published Latin

account of the new continent south of what was still supposed to be India. Columbus's letter describing his discovery of 1497 was not published in Latin until 1508, whereas Vespucci's second letter, in which all his alleged discoveries were described, was published in Latin in 1507. The story of the Florentine, therefore, first published in the language of learned men, alleged to belong to the year 1497, and told in an attractive style, created the false impression that he and not Columbus discovered the great unknown mainland, and in his honor the name "America," from the Latin form of his Christian name, was given to that region — but not at first to the region north of the Isthmus of Panama.[1] The order of development is something like this: first we have "America" south of the isthmus and "India" north of it; next, "America" south of the isthmus and "North America" north of it finally; "South America" in the south and "North America" in the north. The first person to use the name "America" — although others earlier used "Mundus Novus" for South America — was Martin Waldseemüller, a professor of geography at St. Dié, who in a book of his own published Vespucci's second letter in 1507. Thoroughly under the influence of Vespucci's narrative he described this newly discovered land and added, since "Americus discovered it, it may be called Amerige; in other words, the land of Americus, or America." He said further that he preferred the form "America," since both Europe and Asia were named for women. A map which accompanied his book used the name, which was soon in general popular use in most of Europe outside of Spain, where the term "Indies" was used long after its absurdity was recognized. Waldseemüller later changed his mind about the name, and in a map which he made in 1513 substituted the term "Terra Incognita"; but it was too late to overtake the error of 1507.

The Name "America."

Waldseemüller.

But one more discovery was now needed to make the New World stand in clear relief before the eye of the old — and that was made by Magellan in 1519–1522. Although a Portuguese, he sailed under Spanish authority with five ships manned by unwilling and mutinous crews. He spent the first winter on the eastern shore of South America, forty-nine degrees south, where the climate was like that of Newfoundland. Here he put down a mutiny by his individual courage, and in the spring resumed his journey. October 21, in the Antarctic spring, he entered the straits which now bear his name — a channel from two to five miles wide and three hundred and twenty-five miles long. Its last half passes between high rocky banks with impressive mountains on each side. The little fleet passed through fearsomely, not knowing what mysterious terror the next league ahead might present. At length the cliffs receded and

Magellan's Discovery.

[1] The arguments in this connection are admirably given in Bourne, *Spain in America*, ch. vii.

the straits opened to a broad ocean which Magellan called "Mare Pacificum." He struck out boldly to the northwest, and after much suffering came at last to the rich islands of the East. He was killed in battle with the natives in the island of Matau, one of the Philippines. A single ship survived the perils of the sea and reached Spain, having proved the truth of Columbus's dream.

Portuguese Explorations.

Next to Spain, Portugal took prominent part in American explorations. Her West African voyages throughout the fifteenth century gave her a prestige which the immense activity of Spain at the close of the century threatened to discredit. Spurred by this thought she sent out Vasco da Gama in 1497. He went first to the Cape Verde Islands, then striking into the great South Atlantic, sailed without signs of land till he came to thirty degrees south latitude, when he turned to the southeast, and after a long time reached the coast at a point one hundred miles north of Cape of Good Hope. His course represented two sides of a triangle, to cover which he took ninety-three days, out of sight of land; whereas Columbus on his first voyage took only thirty-five days from the Canaries to Guanahani. Passing then around the cape, which had been unvisited since Bartholomew Diaz was blown past it in 1487, he sailed on to India, where, indeed, the lands of spices and gems lay before him. His return to Lisbon brought the glow of old-time pride to the hearts of his compatriots. It shows in a letter the king sent to Ferdinand and Isabella, announcing that a Portuguese captain had reached the real India where there were real pepper and real rubies.

Vasco da Gama.

The Corte-Reals.

In 1500 another Portuguese navigator sailed into the unknown seas, going as boldly into the north as da Gama went into the south. This was Gaspar Corte-Real, who sailed many days and found "a land which was very cool and with great woods," but not otherwise described. In 1501, with three ships he sailed for the same coasts. One of the vessels was lost with the commander aboard, but the others returned with fifty captive Eskimos. Surviving stories and contemporary maps show that he visited Labrador and explored Newfoundland. In 1502 his brother, Miguel Corte-Real, went out to find the lost Gaspar and was himself cast away. A year later the king sent out an expedition to find the two brothers, but it was futile. These northern explorations are only geographically important: Portugal founded no territorial claims on them.

Cabral.

More important were her attempts on the Brazilian coast. In 1500, a few months before Gaspar Corte-Real sailed, one of her captains, Cabral, with thirteen ships dropped down to the Cape Verde Islands, and, like da Gama, stood thence out into the ocean. But he turned farther west, where the ocean is narrowest, and reached land in eighteen degrees south latitude and took possession in the name of Portugal. He sent one ship to report his discovery and

with the others sought to pass beyond this land to India. Storms impeded his progress and he was forced to turn back.

While Spain and Portugal explored and acquired portions of the New World, England, through no inclination of her own rulers, explored and secured title to the portion she was later to colonize. John Cabot, born in Genoa, but a naturalized citizen of Venice, after unsuccessful attempts in Spain and Portugal, came to England, where the king, Henry VII, in 1496 gave him such lands as he might discover beyond the sea to hold the same in the English name. In a ship no larger than Columbus's *Niña*, with a crew of eighteen, he sailed in May, 1497, and four hundred leagues west of Ireland come to land, probably Newfoundland. He skirted the coast southward for three hundred leagues and returned to England, where the thrifty king rewarded him with a gift of ten, and an annual pension of twenty, pounds. A year later be sailed on a second voyage the detailed results of which we do not know; but from various sources it seems probable that on this expedition he explored the Atlantic coast from Long Island to South Carolina. With this voyage he disappears completely; probably he perished on it. He was not an educated man, like Columbus, and the English were not interested in discoveries. Accordingly we have in England only the barest documentary evidence in regard to the voyages. Both this meager record and the fact that English explorations were not notably continued show how little interest our mother country had in the lands beyond the sea. But the agents of the Spanish and Italian governments then in England felt a lively interest. They reported to their superiors all they heard about Cabot's achievements, and from this source we get most of our scanty information.

English Explorations.

John Cabot.

John Cabot had a son, Sebastian, for thirty-six years Chief Hydrographer of Spain and after that adviser in matters of navigation to the English admiralty. He was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and posterity. An inscription on his picture and another on a map which he made in 1544 assert that he was with his father when, in 1497, land was discovered in the north. Sebastian talked freely in Spain to persons who have reported his words. From these three sources grew the impression that Sebastian was a great discoverer. Some of the statements in the story are contradicted by the scant contemporary records which refer to John Cabot, and the result is a lowering in later years of the fame of the son; but it is impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion in the matter. England forgot the Cabots for a century. But in the days of Raleigh and Hakluyt she recalled them to mind, and these voyages became the basis of her claim to the North Atlantic coast.

Sebastian Cabot.

France, through the efforts of two men, took part in American exploration. In 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano tried to find a passage to India by the northwest. It is difficult to determine from his narra-

tive how much of the Atlantic coast he explored; but it seems that he entered New York harbor and the Hudson river and penetrated Narragansett Bay, after which he sailed north as far as Newfoundland. In 1534 Jacques Cartier, a Breton, sailed with two ships on what proved a more important voyage. He explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and was forced home by stormy weather. Next year he came again to the same place, took up his labors where he suspended them in 1534, and went up the St. Lawrence as far as what is now Quebec. Then he took rowboats, with which he reached the Indian village of Hochelaga at the site of Montreal. The rapids which here stopped his search for a passage through the continent were later called "La Chine" in ridicule, it is said, of his attempt to find China through this river. Cartier's exploration was the basis of French title to Canada. It was followed in 1541 by an attempt to plant a colony, Roberval having the command and Cartier showing the way. A fort was built near Quebec, but the Indians drove off the garrison, and killed or discouraged the colonists so that they gladly escaped to France.

French Explorations.

Verrazano.

Cartier.

The earliest maps after the discovery of America show us how Europe gradually came to realize the shape of the new continent. The first preserved was by Juan de la Cosa (1500). He was with Columbus in 1492 and 1493, and with Hojeda in 1499. He was informed about the other discoveries and accounted for them on his map. He shows the coast line of North and South America in the shape of a great letter U which lies on one side. The discoveries of Cabot represent the upper leg and the Spanish discoveries in the northern part of South America represent the lower leg. The curved interior takes the place of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, within which the Antilles are correctly placed. North and south of the terminus of each leg the shores go off at right angles. Opposite the upper one and well out in the ocean he places the land discovered for Portugal by Corte-Real, not knowing it was nearly identical with Cabot's discovery. These Spanish, English, and Portuguese lands are located with approximate correctness, but the lines which connect them, the inner curved part of the figure, were drawn without experimental knowledge, probably by guess.

Early Maps.

A map made for Cantino, an Italian envoy in Portugal, about 1502, adheres more closely to known facts. Unknown parts of the coast are entirely blank, the northern part takes a vertical position, Florida and the shore north of it comes into a semblance of itself, and the same is true of South America from the Gulf of Uraba to the Tropic of Capricorn. A map by Stobnicza, 1512, has the parts of coast line omitted from the Cantino map, and one by Waldseemüller, 1513, gives an outline of the two continents with a suggestion of accuracy. A French globe, about 1527, shows Asia connected with South America.

Exploring the Interior

The second stage of exploration was directed into the interior and it went hand in hand with colonization, Spain taking the lead. First Hayti (1494) and then Cuba (1508) were settled. These two islands soon developed a number of vigorous Spanish-born grandees who were willing to attempt adventures on the unexplored mainland. Such a one was Hernando Cortez, who in 1519 sailed to conquer Mexico, the wealth and advanced culture of which was previously reported to the whites. He took with him five hundred and fifty Spaniards, two hundred and three Indians, one negro, and sixteen horses. He destroyed his ships when he landed at Vera Cruz, and announced to his men his determination to conquer Mexico or die. At that time the Mexicans expected the return of a culture hero, Quetzalcoatl, who, tradition said, would come back to bless the people. Some of them considered the arrival of the Spaniards the fulfillment of the prophecy. Cortez was quick enough to use this opportunity, but his main reliance was his sword. His firearms, armor, and horses gave him an advantage, but the vast numbers of his enemies would have outweighed it had he been less capable or his enemies been well united. He forced his way to the Aztec city of Mexico, where the superstitious natives received him darkly. Fearing an outbreak he seized Montezuma, the Mexican ruler, and when the capital flew to arms withdrew for the time and established a siege which was finally successful. After two and a half years of severe struggle he and his little army were masters of Mexico.

Spanish Explorations in the Interior. Cortez.

Another explorer of the interior was Balboa. He was a bankrupt planter who left Santo Domingo secretly to escape his creditors, and joined an expedition which was trying to plant a colony near the Isthmus of Panama. Small, ugly, and poor, he nevertheless was born to command and was soon the leading spirit in an otherwise failing enterprise. By his resolution he resisted all attempts to supplant him and finally performed a feat which made him famous. When some Spaniards were disputing over a bit of gold, an Indian told them he could show them a great water over which came quantities of the yellow metal. Balboa remembered the words, and with about two hundred Spaniards set out to find this sea. His march of forty-five miles was through a tropical tangle of jungle to penetrate which required the labor of eighteen days. At length he neared the sea. Halting his men he climbed the last impeding ridge so that he alone might first see the object of his search. Then this bankrupt adventurer, stern ruler of men, heartless betrayer of benefactors, and relentless victor over his personal enemies, knelt and thanked "God and all the Heavenly Host who had reserved the prize of so great a thing unto him, being a man but of small wit and

Balboa.

knowledge, of little experience, and lowly parentage." Thus it was that Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean in 1513.

Ponce de Leon.

More interesting but less significant historically were the explorations of Ponce de Leon in 1513. Twenty years of adventure in the West Indies had developed him into a great captain. He finally set out to find Bimini, a land in which the Indians said there was much gold and a fountain of perpetual youth. On Easter Sunday he discovered the mainland, which he called Florida, from *Pascua Florida*, the Easter season. He landed at St. Augustine harbor, and thence explored the coast southward until he passed the extremity of the peninsula. The name "Florida" was later used by Spain for the coast as far north as the Chesapeake Bay.

de Narvaez.

Another explorer was de Narvaez. In 1527 he sailed from Spain for Florida with a colony of six hundred persons. Desertion and shipwreck reduced these to four hundred, most of whom landed in the western part of what is now Florida somewhere north of Tampa Bay. Indian reports of a great town lured them into the interior, where they were surrounded by vast numbers of savages and forced back starving to the coast at Pensacola Bay. They built boats, converted their horses into food, made sails from horsehides and from their own clothes, and sailed — not for Cuba, but westward, where they hoped to join their fleet. In this they were disappointed: one by one their rude boats were destroyed: de Narvaez was drowned; and the remnant, now fifteen, took refuge with the Indians, who first beat them and then discovered that they were medicine-men. For five years they managed to keep in favor with the savages, passing from tribe to tribe in great honor. Finally four men, all who were left of the six hundred whom de Narvaez brought out nine years earlier, reached the city of Mexico. One of them was Cabeça de Vaca, historian of the expedition, whose journal makes a thrilling narrative. He described the interior of the continent in glowing terms and gave a stimulus to later disastrous attempts at exploration.

De Soto.

One of the victims of this exaggeration was Hernando de Soto, who having gained a fortune in Peru with Pizarro was made governor of Cuba and ruler of Florida, which he was to explore and colonize at his own expense. May 30, 1539, he landed at Tampa Bay with over six hundred and twenty men. He spent the summer and winter near the coast, and in the spring marched northward, across Georgia, South Carolina, and part of North Carolina. He crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains in the last-named state near the point where rise the highest peaks of the Appalachian system, then turning south again reached southern Alabama in October, 1540, always looking for "some rich country," fighting several battles with the Indians, and suffering much from hunger and sickness. De Soto learned that a fleet awaited him on the coast, but concealed

the fact from his men and marched again for the interior. He wintered in northern Mississippi, and moving on in the spring came on May 8, 1541, to the Mississippi near Memphis. He crossed and spent the summer exploring what is now Arkansas. He encamped, and in the spring would have gone farther into the west if his men and horses had not failed him. Broken spirited, he fell sick, and May 21, 1542, he was buried in the river he had discovered. His adventures took three years. His followers built boats and escaped down the river and along the coast to Mexico. De Soto gave his fortune and his life to this enterprise and the result was expressed in the extension of geographical knowledge for the benefit of the world at large.

In Mexico at this time a story was circulated of seven cities which an Indian had visited, each as great as Mexico City. The narrative of Cabeça de Vaca seemed to confirm it; and the excitable imagination of the adventurers seized it with avidity. **Coronado.** A friar sent to investigate returned, saying he came in sight of one of the cities, probably the pueblo of Zuñi, and preparations were made for a conquest of this wonderful region, believed to be as rich as Mexico. Francisco de Coronado was appointed to lead the colony. He set out in 1540 with eleven hundred men, Spaniards and Indians; but he left the main body on the north shore of the Gulf of California and went into the interior with fifty horsemen. He took Cibola, which proved to be a pueblo without treasure. Not discouraged, he ordered up the main body and struck into New Mexico. He went as far as the border of Oklahoma, and with an advance guard arrived at the center of Kansas within nine days' march of the point to which De Soto at that very time had penetrated in Arkansas. He found pueblos and Indian villages, but no treasure, and returned to Mexico in 1542 with the loss of only a few of his followers. Thus from 1513 to 1542 Spain explored Florida, Mexico, and the region north of the Rio Grande, discovering their real character and opening the way for colonization.

Such was the work of Cortez, Balboa, Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, de Soto, and Coronado. They were strenuous men, sparing neither themselves, their followers, nor the natives, whom they plundered, enslaved, and slew with great cruelty. Through their efforts Spain in fifty years, from 1492 to 1542, explored and held a vast region. Nor was gold-seeking their only interest: agricultural colonies quickly followed the adventurers; and their strength is shown by the part they contributed to further explorations. No other colonizing nation in America did so much in so short a time. Had not the wars of Phillip II, soon to begin, paralyzed Spanish industry and checked emigration to the colonies, it seems likely that a very strong Spanish empire would have been established from Florida to the mouth of the Orinoco.

Spanish Colonial Power.

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CHAPTER III

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE SOUTH

The Gentlemen Adventurers

Nothing shows better the rapid progress of Spanish colonies than the fact that England became interested in colonization through depredations on them. Captain John Hawkins, of Plymouth, Devonshire, did much to open this phase of English history. Negro slaves were in demand in Spanish colonies, and although foreigners were forbidden to trade there, he determined to get access to the market. In 1563 he arrived in Hayti with three hundred negroes, whom the planters, not knowing the king's law, or disregarding it, gladly purchased. He loaded his ships with produce, and sailed for Europe, sending two of them to Spain, where they were promptly seized by the authorities. His courage rose with opposition, and he soon reappeared with another cargo. When the timid colonists hesitated to purchase, he landed an armed force, and frightened off the officials, whereupon the slaves were sold. The king — it was Philip II — now sent a fleet to enforce the laws. It found Hawkins, recently returned from a third voyage, safe in the harbor of Vera Cruz, whose defenses he had seized. He hesitated to appeal to force and agreed to admit the Spanish commander to the harbor on the promise of immunity from attack. The pledge was broken, the English being cut to pieces by the superior number of their opponents. Two ships escaped, one commanded by Hawkins, the other by his nephew, Francis Drake.

The English Seamen.

Hawkins.

Both men were henceforth implacable enemies to the Spaniards. They became the center of a group of hardy captains who dealt Spanish ships many a blow, and who at last united to overthrow in 1588 *The Invincible Armada* which Philip sent against England. Their most notable single adventure was when Drake in 1578 in *The Pelican* sailed around South America, took great quantities of gold from unwary Spaniards, explored the west coast to the forty-eighth parallel, and circumnavigating the globe returned to England to be knighted for his success. These adventures revived English interest in America and promoted colonization.

Drake.

Hawkins and Drake had many imitators. One of them, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1578 received from Queen Elizabeth a patent grant-

ing him power, civil and proprietary, over all lands which he might colonize not held by a Christian prince. He wished to discover a northwest passage to China, and believed that a colony in America would be a useful base for his explorations. In the same year he went out with seven ships, one commanded by his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, then twenty-six years old. The expedition encountered the Spaniards, and soon returned to England. In 1583 Gilbert sailed to Newfoundland to plant a colony there, but he was lost in a storm and his expedition failed. He was a model knight and Christian, and his last known words shouted from the deck of his little ship, then battling for life in the waves, — "The way to heaven is as near by sea as by land," — have often been repeated by Englishmen.

Gilbert.

Walter Raleigh took up his dead brother's work, the queen issuing a new charter, and in 1584 he sent two ships under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to explore the Atlantic coast before attempting to plant a colony. With an eye on the rich Spanish galleons, which English captains were accustomed to plunder on sight, they first sailed to the West Indies, then turning northward came to the coast near Cape Lookout, North Carolina, and skirting the shore found an inlet which does not now exist, and so came in July through Pamlico Sound to Roanoke Island. The rich vegetation, the abundance of fish, and the friendliness of the natives delighted them, and they returned with wonderful stories of what they saw. They reported an abundance of grapes, which abound in that locality to this day; and they found something — probably the persimmon — which they took for the date. Their written description of the place was designed to enlist the efforts of future adventurers, please the queen, and increase the glory of their employer. Elizabeth was enough gratified to confer knighthood on Raleigh, and to call the country Virginia in token of her unmarried state.

Raleigh.

First Expedition.

In 1585 Raleigh sent Ralph Lane, a brave, tactless captain of infantry, with a hundred men to land at Roanoke Island, make a better investigation of the interior, and select a site for a permanent settlement. He explored Albemarle Sound, went up the Roanoke river until he realized that it was not a northwest passage, and heard from the Indians of Chesapeake Bay, which he properly concluded was better suited than Roanoke Island for the proposed colony. His abrupt manner brought him the hostility of the Indians, his supplies were soon gone, and when in 1586 Sir Francis Drake came to the coast, after a profitable cruise in the West Indies, Lane was glad to embark for England. A few days later Sir Richard Grenville touched at the place with supplies and recruits. He left fifteen men with food to hold the country in the name of the English and sailed off to the West Indies to capture Spanish treasure.

Second Expedition.

Raleigh now prepared to plant a permanent colony. May 8, 1587, he sent out three ships with one hundred and fifty colonists, twenty-five of whom were women and children. The commander was John White, who was with Lane in 1585 and who showed his confidence in the enterprise by bringing with him his own daughter, Eleanor, and her husband, Annanias Dare. White was to pick up the garrison left by Grenville and plant the "Citie of Raleigh in Virginia" on the Chesapeake. But arrived at Roanoke the hired captain refused to go farther, and when White and the men of the colony were on shore, put their effects on land and sailed away with two of the ships. A more resolute explorer than White, as Cortez or De Soto, would have gone on board, overpowered the captain, and taken the ships to their proper destination.

Third Expedition.

The island was inaccessible from the sea and its soil was poor. The colonists soon became discouraged and urged White to return to England for supplies. Late in August he set sail in the one ship at the disposal of the settlers, leaving behind him a granddaughter, Virginia Dare, born August 18, the first offspring of the English race in what is now the United States. England at that moment was expecting the arrival of the Spanish Armada, and a strict embargo was laid on shipping. White was forced to remain in the country, and it was not until 1591 that he came, in a hired ship, to ascertain the fate of the colony. The island was deserted, the fort was in ruins, and the only evidence of the fate of the colonists was the word "Croatoan" carved on a tree. It was the name of a friendly tribe of Indians dwelling near Cape Hatteras. Before his departure it was agreed that if the colonists removed they would carve the name of their place of refuge on a tree, and if they went in distress a cross was to be added. As no cross appeared, White took courage. He would have gone to Croatoan, but the captain of the fleet, fearful of storms, would not delay, and spite of later efforts of Raleigh to find them, the colonists were never seen again by white men. The settlers at Jamestown, planted twenty years later, learned from the Indians that the people of Roanoke went to the Indians, but were later massacred through the agency of Powhatan. The Indians added that four men, two boys, and one maid were saved by a friendly chief. If so, they were probably adopted into the tribe according to the Indian custom.[1]

The "Lost Colony."

The enterprise at Roanoke Island wasted Raleigh's fortune, and the colony itself was a failure, but he kept up his interest in Virginia, saying in 1602 when about to be sent to the Tower, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." He did, indeed, at Roanoke Island plant the seed which

Significance of Roanoke Island.

[1] The claim that the mixed breeds of Robeson county, N. C., formerly known as Scuffletonians, recently called "Croatans," are descended from the "Lost Colony" is unsupported by evidence and highly improbable.

produced fruit at Jamestown. His failure contained a lesson and showed the place at which success would be found. His faith in the expansion of English power was communicated to others, the pathetic fate of his colony hung over the imagination of his countrymen, and the cause of colonization was not forgotten.

Raleigh's misfortunes showed that planting a colony was a large work and that it demanded the support of many people. He, indeed, realized this, and in 1589 assigned to a group of "Associates" the right to establish a colony in Virginia. Among them were ten men who were later connected with the Virginia Company. One of them was Richard Hakluyt, who in 1584 presented the queen with *A Discourse of Western Planting*, a little book of arguments to show why Elizabeth ought to encourage colonies. The appeal failed completely. English sovereigns never expended money in founding or nourishing colonies in America. Among Raleigh's "associates" was Thomas Smythe, a prominent merchant, and either he or his son by the same name was treasurer of the Virginia Company. In 1603 Raleigh was convicted of treason and the assignment of 1589 became null.

Coöperation.

The English opinion of Virginia at this time came from the reports of Raleigh's captains and was influenced by the Spanish experience in Mexico and Peru. The popular imagination added much to these already exaggerated impressions. A favorite comedy of the day, "Eastward Ho," gives the following exposition of Virginia in 1605:

Exaggerated Opinion of Virginia.

"*Seagull.* A whole country of English is there, bred of those that were left there in '79 [1587]; they have married with the Indians . . . who are so in love with them that all the treasures they have they lay at their feet.

"*Scapethrift.* But is there such treasure there, Captain, as I have heard?

"*Seagull.* I tell thee gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much red copper as I can bring I'll have thrice the weight in gold. Why man, all their dripping pans . . . are pure gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold, all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore to hang on their children's coats, and stick in their children's caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron-gilt brooches and groats with holes in 'em.

"*Scapethrift.* And is it a pleasant country withal?

"*Seagull.* As ever the sun shined on: temperate, and full of all sorts of excellent viands; wild boar is as common there as our tamest bacon is here; and venison as mutton. And then you shall live freely there, without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers . . . Then for your means of advancement, there it is simple and not preposterously mixed. You may be an alderman there and never be scavenger; you may be any other officer and never be a slave. You may come to preferment enough, . . . to riches and fortune enough, and have never the more villany nor the less wit. Besides, there we shall have no more law than conscience, and not too much of either; serve God enough, eat and drink enough, and enough is as good as a feast."

The Beginning of Virginia

Various adventurous sea captains were on the American coasts early in the seventeenth century, and they probably gave the impulse which resulted in renewed efforts to people the country. Two whose names stand out are George Weymouth and Bartholomew Gosnold. They offered their ships and their services and tried to get others to raise funds to send out colonies. They succeeded in enlisting the support of a number of gentlemen and merchants, and applied to the king for permission to plant two colonies, — one in the south, where Raleigh's efforts were spent, and one in the north, in a region whose resources of fur, timber, and fisheries had attracted the attention of Weymouth and others. The request was granted, and April 10, 1606, two groups of "adventurers," one resident in London and the other in Plymouth, Bristol, and other towns, were authorized to plant the "First Colony" and the "Second Colony" respectively. The London Company, as the first group came to be called, was to plant between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude, and the Plymouth Company between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees; but it was provided that when one colony was established the other should not be placed within a hundred miles of it. Each was to have jurisdiction over a region one hundred miles square, fifty on each side, north and south, of its first settlement, and one hundred into the interior. Various privileges were granted to each, among them authority to open mines, grant lands, coin money, defend themselves against intruders, and import certain articles for seven years without duty.

London Company and Plymouth Company.

Raleigh's grant said little about the government of the colony he should plant, the inference being that this was a matter left largely in the hands of the proprietor. The grants of 1606 show a better developed idea of a colonial system. The colony was to be a national undertaking, dependent, not on parliament, but on the king. He created the charter and reserved for himself the ultimate jurisdiction over the colonial government. He also issued "instructions," in which was established or modified the internal constitution of the proposed colony. His direct representative was the superior council of Virginia, consisting of thirteen members appointed by the king. Virginia, as then conceived, was an immense domain in which could be established eight seacoast colonies, each one hundred miles square. The government now devised was to apply to the First and Second Colonies, and probably to all others to be set up in Virginia.

The King's Idea of Colonial Government.

Within the colony was to be a resident council of not more than thirteen members, appointed temporarily by the superior council

in London. It was to choose its president annually, and its functions were four: (1) to make ordinances in matters not touching life and members, such ordinances to be in keeping with the "instructions" and with English law, and to be in force until repealed by the king; (2) to sit as a court of justice; (3) to appoint minor officials; and (4) to exercise the functions of local administration. The "instructions" also established the Church of England and prescribed exile for persons preaching against it. There was to be a Cape Merchant, or treasurer, to receive the goods sent to the colony and to sell those sent home. He was to administer the common store, to which every man's produce should go for five years. The inhabitants were to have the personal and property rights of British subjects, and trial by jury was not to be denied.

Government within the Colony.

The Second Colony, sent out by the Plymouth Company, sailed August 12, 1606. It was a small expedition and was taken by the Spaniards. The failure did not discourage the Company, who next year sent one hundred and twenty settlers to the mouth of the Kennebec. A bitter winter and other hardships discouraged them, and they returned to England in 1608.

Colony on the Kennebec.

The London Company, moving more slowly, sent forth a larger number of adventurers. December 20, 1606, they sailed from London, one hundred and twenty men, without women and children, in three ships, *The Sarah* [*Susan*] *Constant*, *The Goodspeed*, and *The Discovery*. Captain Christopher Newport, a seaman experienced in the war against the Spaniards, commanded the expedition on the sea and was instructed to remain two months in Virginia making explorations. He carried a mysterious sealed packet, to be opened twenty-four hours after he made land, containing the names of the all-powerful seven who should make the governing council. Several men of high birth and pretensions were on board, and during the four months the little fleet took to pass first the Canaries, then to the West Indies, and thence northward to the Chesapeake, there was much speculation and some heart-burning in anticipation of the assignment of the coming honors. One man aboard was Captain John Smith, a veritable soldier of fortune, without family connections to speak of. He had real ability, but was probably aggressive and boastful. He drew to himself a group of supporters, which displeased Edward Maria Wingfield, a proud man of high birth, who charged Smith with plotting mutiny, and got him put in irons for the rest of the voyage. April 26, Old Style, they sighted the Virginia capes and named them Henry and Charles after the two sons of their king. Before them was Hampton Roads, and beyond that a great river which they called the James. Seeking to reach it they were impeded by shallows, till at last they found the channel close to a spit of land.

The First Settlers.

which in gratitude they called Point Comfort. At last the sealed packet was opened. The three captains of the ships, Newport, Gosnold, and Ratcliffe, with Wingfield, Smith, and two others were to be the council. Wingfield's ascendancy was complete; he was elected president, but Smith, though given his liberty, was not allowed to sit in the council.

The colonists now divided into two parts; one explored the river and bay and the other proceeded to lay out a town. The site was a peninsula thirty-two miles from the mouth of the James, large enough for a town and some fields. It was connected with the mainland by a narrow neck and was easily defensible. Though lying low, it was as high as most of the bank up to that point. The channel cut the southwest end and made a low bluff so that the ships could be tied up to the shore. Here a fort was constructed, with a church and a storehouse. In the rear of these was laid out a little street along which huts were built. The town was named Jamestown. June 15 the fort was completed, and the colonists felt safe against the Indians. A week later Captain Newport returned to England. He carried a quantity of pyrites which he took for gold. He valued it so highly, that arriving on the English shore he dared not leave his ship and proceed to London, lest the precious stuff be stolen.

Jamestown.

Virginia presented a fair appearance to the colonists. The great oaks, pines, and cypresses, with grapevines as large as a man's leg, showed the fertility of the soil. The great sturgeons in the river, the luscious oysters on the rocks, mussels with pearls in them, flowers in the woods, strawberries twice as large as those of England, and many other things filled with admiration the imaginative gentlemen adventurers. They roamed through the woods in ecstasy. Every new bird, every shady nook carpeted with flowers, every fine view of river or grassy marsh, brought forth expressions of delight, as we may see from the writings of several of the more bookish members of the colony. It would be interesting to know what the laborers thought, who came to convert all this forest beauty into patient, corn-growing fields. The Indians at this time no longer looked on the whites with wonder. Spanish and English ships had inflicted enough cruelty to place war in their hearts. The Paspaheghs controlled the region and resented the intrusion at Jamestown. No treaty was offered them, and they would have destroyed the intruders had they found an opportunity.

Natural Charms.

The sultry August days brought disaster. Gentle George Percy describes the situation with pathetic briefness. "The sixt day of August," he says, "there died John Asbie, of the bloudie Flixe. The ninth day, died George Flowre, of the swelling, the tenth day, died William Bruster Gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day. The

The Work of Disease.

fourteenth day, Jerome Olikock, Ancient [*i.e.* Ensign], died of a wound. The same day, Francis Midwinter, and Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly." Thus runs the account throughout August, closing with this, "Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, such as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Fevers, and by warres; and some departed suddenly; but for the most part, they died of meere famine. . . . It pleased God, after a while, to sende those people which were our mortall enemies, [the Indians] to relieve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie; which was the setting up of our feeble men: otherwise we had all perished." This fortunate succor came from Powhatan, who lived on the York river, and from Indians south of the James, who were pleased to give food for trinkets, Captain John Smith going to them for trade.

The starving settlers turned against Wingfield, who could think of no better means of meeting the difficulties than to husband the small store of food until help arrived from England. The resourcefulness of Smith now attracted attention, and he was admitted to the council. Soon afterwards this body deposed the president and placed Ratcliffe in his place. Smith then became the most active man in the colony. He was sent out to trade with the natives, and besides securing food won their respect, so that even the Paspaheghs became friendly. January 8, 1608, Newport, returning with supplies and 110 recruits, found the colony safe, although the numbers were reduced to 40. He was ordered by the Company to bring back a valuable cargo, and three months were spent in getting lumber to fill his ships. The time should have been given to clearing the forest for grain. As it was, when planting time came only four acres could be put into cultivation. A hundred would not have been too much. In August disease and famine reappeared and the population was reduced to 50. Then Newport reappeared, and precious time and strength must be given to the preparation of his cargo. Under such circumstances the arrival of a "supply" was a questionable benefit. In 1608 Smith became president, and when all the other councillors died he would not appoint successors, but ruled alone. The people accepted him, and in the spring of 1609 he got 40 acres into cultivation. He also erected better houses and dug a well, at that place a work of a few hours. Although a physician was among the colonists, the brackish river had for two years furnished the drinking water.

Services of Captain John Smith.

In the autumn of 1609 Smith returned to England, and the winter which followed was termed "the starving time." The population, largely increased by recent arrivals, was reduced from 500 to 60. Some of the sufferers were tempted to cannibalism, and one desperate man threw his Bible into the fire, crying, "There is no God in heaven!" When Sir Thomas Gates, a new governor, arrived in the spring he decided the experiment

"The Starving Time."

was a failure and embarked the whole company for England. Before he left the river he encountered still another governor, Delaware, with supplies and recruits. All returned to Jamestown, where the situation became a little better.

In 1609 the government by council was abandoned and a governor appointed with practically the authority of military law. Such a man was Delaware, who was too mild to be a despot. In 1611 he returned to England, remaining governor till his death in 1618, and ruling Virginia through a deputy governor. In this capacity came Sir Thomas Dale, 1611–1616, as bitter a tyrant as ever held office in America. There was much to excuse his harshness. He found on his arrival that no crops were planted, although the planting season was past. The men's chief occupation was bowling in the streets, the houses were falling in pieces, and the Indians were defiant. He turned on Newport, who had continually deceived England about the state of the colony, pulled his beard in public, threatened to hang him, and asked "wheather it ware meant that the people heere in Virginia shoulde feede upon trees." He set the colonists to digging sassafras roots and hewing cedar for the profit of the Company. The spiritless inhabitants did not resist, but fled to the woods: when he took them he burned them at the stake. For stealing food some were hanged, and one was tied to a tree to starve.

Council's Powers Abolished.

Dale as Governor.

The food was bad, either because the contractors cheated the Company, or because provisions spoiled in transit. There was much complaint, and Dale devised a scheme of relief. He distributed small lots of land to the people, and all who had come as laborers were given one month of the year to raise food for themselves. Another group, probably all who were not laborers, were called farmers and given three acres of land each, for which they paid to the company each year seven and a half barrels of corn and one month's labor. It was exorbitant rent, but when men directed their own labor they worked as much in one day as formerly in a week.

Distribution of Land.

The large number of gentlemen adventurers who came to the colony had a bad effect. They came hoping to find gold as Spanish gentlemen had found it in Central America, but they were nevertheless honestly desirous of building up the enterprise. Unaccustomed to labor they did not readily take up the hard work of clearing the fields, and despair, disease, and death found them an easy prey. Not used to superior authority they turned to intrigue. On this group fell Dale like a thunderbolt. He had no troops to enforce his orders, but his iron will served instead. Hardened soldier that he was, he found it the most difficult task of his life. When he left Virginia in 1616 the days of illusion were passed and the colonists realized that the chief thing was to develop the agri-

Dale's Services.

cultural resources of a fertile country. They then numbered 350 and were well supplied with cattle and hogs. It was within this period that the possibilities of tobacco were discovered. Virginia now had a profitable money crop, great estates became possible, and the early aristocratic impulses of the settlers might reassert themselves.

Better Times in the Colony

Meanwhile the London Company cast off its early enthusiasm. The public-spirited gentlemen who founded it soon ceased to contribute to its support. Threatened with failure, its friends attempted to make it a national trading company. The clergy lent their influence on missionary grounds, with the result that the membership grew to 765, only 225 of whom were of the gentry. A share cost twelve pounds and ten shillings, and in 1612 the king permitted all important business to be transacted by a majority of the stockholders. Now appeared at the quarterly meetings a group in support of the king's ideas and a popular party who declared that prosperity would not come to the colony until self-government was granted. Such a suggestion was abhorrent to James I, but the misery under the king's plan was evident and the liberals triumphed in 1618. They were ably led by Sir Edwin Sandys, ever the friend of liberal ideas.

Changes in the Company.

Sir George Yardley, governor, arrived at Jamestown April 19, 1619, announcing the permanent end of common property and the beginning of self-government. Each colonist was to have an assignment of land — one hundred acres for those who came before 1616 and fifty for those who came afterwards. The laws were to be made by an assembly composed of a governor and six councillors appointed by the company and two representatives elected by each town, hundred, or plantation. The governor and council had executive functions, assigned land, sat as a high court of justice, and composed the upper house of the assembly. The most honorable position in Virginia next to the governor was the councillor. The representatives made the House of Burgesses, or lower house. The assembly was to make laws not contrary to English laws and subject to veto in England. In the main, this was the frame of government for Virginia and the other royal colonies until the revolution.

Self-Government

Tobacco was now worth five shillings a pound in London, but the price fell rapidly. One man on cleared ground could raise, in 1649, about 2000 pounds. Fifty acres of land, known as a head right, was given to each adult immigrant who settled in the colony, and fifty to a master for each servant. Sir Edwin Sandys, the Company's treasurer, worked indefatigably to bring people to a country where wealth and liberty were

Charter Annulled.

promised, and his success was marked. But the court party intrigued against him. They convinced the king that Virginia was a nest of sedition, and he set himself to defeat the reëlection of the treasurer. "Choose the devil if you will," he said to the stockholders, "but not Sir Edwin Sandys." This warning was too plain to be mistaken, and the liberal faction elected the Earl of Southampton, as progressive as his predecessor. James's suspicions were not allayed, and many advisers incited his anger, among them the Spanish minister, Gondomar, who resented the intrusion of the settlement into what he considered Spanish territory. In 1623 one of his tools published a paper called "The Unmasking of Virginia," bitterly attacking the company and the colony. James sent a biased commission to Virginia to investigate, and on its report brought suit to annul the charter. All the past misfortunes were laid at the door of the London Company, and June 16, 1624, the Company fell, Virginia passing into the hands of the king. He probably intended to undo the liberal reforms, but he died within a year, and Charles I, more friendly than his father, allowed them to continue. Thus the first law-making assembly established in America remained as a model for the colonies not yet created, and liberal government under royal supervision became firmly rooted in our life.

Royal Governors.

The governors sent by Charles were no worse than those sent by the Company. They had frequent quarrels with the assembly, which became the defender of colonial rights against the royal prerogative. Sometimes the council sided with them, and in 1635 it even deposed Governor Harvey, who tried to lay taxes without an act of assembly and to remove officials by his mere word. He was promptly restored by King Charles, who resented the unmaking of a governor. But the king was greatly beset by his own enemies, and vacillated from party to party. He soon sent a liberal governor, and then changing again, sent in 1642 a supporter of the royal prerogative, Sir William Berkeley, destined to rule long in Virginia. Berkeley was a stout aristocrat and a supporter of the king's prerogative, but he was honest, and his administration was a period of economic prosperity.

Planting the first permanent colony cost the English stock dearly. When it ceased to exist in 1624 the London Company had expended 200,000 pounds, equal to $5,000,000 in American values of to-day, and from this large expenditure the return was very slight. In the same period it sent to Virginia over 14,000 persons, nearly 13,000 of whom died from exposure and disease. But in spite of this waste of money and life the first lessons of colonization were learned for the benefit of colonies to be established in the future, and Virginia remained a permanent home of white men.

Two Indian wars fell heavily on the colony within the early period of its existence, one in 1622 and another in 1644. Each marked an

attempt of the natives to save their land from the occupation of the strangers. Before the first of these attacks relations with the savages were peaceful, owing in the first instance to the exertions of Captain Smith and after that to the good will of Powhatan, head chief of a confederacy which included at least thirty-four tribes. His good will was much influenced by his daughter Pocohontas, who probably saved the life of Smith, made many visits to Jamestown, and finally married Rolfe, one of the colonists. In 1618 Powhatan died, and his able brother, Opechancanough, who disliked the English and wished to expel them before it was too late, began to plot war. In March, 1622, the tribes generally went on the warpath, and swept through the outlying plantations with a trail of blood. Nearly 400 persons perished, and the planters who survived the first attack fled to the older settlements. They were compelled to leave their cattle behind, which, with their homes, were destroyed. As soon as the spring crops were planted the whites divided in bands and took a terrible vengeance. For twenty-two years there was peace. But Opechancanough, at last the head chief, only waited an opportunity. In 1644 there was civil war in England, and he thought the expected moment was at hand. Old and blind as he was he acted with energy, and in two days over 300 settlers were slain. Again the whites took up arms, and in 1646 the aged head chief himself was taken and killed. In this struggle the savages lost heavily and were forced to make a treaty by which they retired from the region between the James and the York rivers. Thenceforth tidewater Virginia had peace.

The Settlement of Maryland

In 1609 the London Company's jurisdiction was fixed at 200 miles north and south of Old Point Comfort, and it was to extend westward through this region to the Mississippi. The Jamestown settlement was not thought to have jurisdiction over all this area; for in 1619 the Company granted privileges to the Pilgrims from Leyden, which, but for the unfavorable voyage of the *Mayflower*, would have resulted in a coördinate colony near the Delaware. With the fall of the Company, 1624, all Virginia again became the king's, and soon afterwards he cut off from it two great proprietary provinces. One, lying on the south of Virginia proper, he gave to Sir Robert Heath, 1629, who did not improve it, and the other was given to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who thus became the founder of Maryland.

Virginia Divided.

Calvert was a member of the London Company and a favorite with the king. In 1625 he announced himself a Catholic, resigned the principal secretaryship of state, and gave himself up to colonization. His first attempt was in Newfoundland, but it failed through the cold climate, and he

The Grant to Lord Baltimore.

turned to Virginia, asking in the first instance for a grant of the lands between the James river and Albemarle Sound. To this request the friends of Virginia objected, and he was satisfied with a grant north of the Potomac, extending as far as the fortieth degree of latitude. To the colony, the charter of which was signed June 20, 1632, the king gave the name Maryland, in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria.

The Government in Maryland.

By the Maryland charter a government was created less liberal than that of the London Company. The model on which it was formed was the County Palatine of Durham, in northern England. The proprietor, Baltimore, was to have in the colony the same authority as the Bishop of Durham had in the county, of whom the old motto of law ran, *Quicquid Rex habet extra, Episcopus habet intra.* Thus the proprietor, besides having possession of the land, was the head of the administrative, judicial, and military functions. The legislative function had no place in the system in force in Durham, and in this respect the Maryland system was more liberal; for it provided that the proprietor might make laws in keeping with those of England "with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen or the major part of them or their representatives." The inhabitants were thus to have a share in law making, but the proprietor could have the initiative and might exercise a veto. By the charter the church of Maryland was to conform to the laws of England, and the right to nominate clergymen was reserved to the proprietor. He was to hold his estate at only a nominal rent, and without taxes to the royal treasury.

Religious Toleration.

George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, died as his charter was about to be signed, and Maryland passed to his son, Cecilius, a wise and liberal-minded man. He proceeded with the work of colonization, and in October, 1633, sent two ships with twenty gentlemen and about two hundred laborers to make the first settlement. With them went his brother, Leonard, as governor. He and most of the gentlemen were Catholics, and most of the laborers Protestants. In a country as strongly anti-Catholic as England it behooved the Calverts to be tolerant, but there is no reason to think that the liberty of conscience which they granted in Maryland did not arise from their sense of justice and liberality. At any rate, at a time when Virginia drove out non-conformists and Massachusetts persecuted Roger Williams, Maryland was the home of religious freedom. Toleration attracted to Maryland people of varying religious belief. Unfortunately, they were not so liberal as the proprietor, and when strong enough began to persecute one another, until civil war at last appeared in the colony.

English Catholics suffered much from the laws against their faith, and it was thought that they would gladly seek an asylum in America. They were fined for not attending the established church, keeping

arms in their houses, educating their children abroad, maintaining Catholic schoolmasters, and converting Protestants to Catholicism. They might not be legally married by their own clergy, serve as executors, or be buried in their own churchyards. Fines were collected from them persistently: even James I, who had sympathy for their faith, took thirty-six thousand pounds a year in this way. For these reasons Catholics were deeply discouraged. But when Baltimore's charter was at length signed, King James was dead, and the English church seemed tending toward Catholicism. Laud was establishing high church practices and harrowing the Puritans, and the new king was giving willing approval. So hopeful were the Catholics of better times in England that the expected emigration did not occur, and Baltimore, who wished to see the colony grow, was the more willing to receive settlers of other faiths.

Would the Catholics Migrate?

The first colony entered Chesapeake Bay late in February, 1634, giving thanks to Providence for bringing them through many storms. They were struck with admiration for the Potomac, "in comparison with which the Thames seemed a rivulet." Near its mouth was a tributary which they called St. George: nine miles up its course they laid out a town and called it St. Mary's. The site was occupied by the Indians. Mindful of Captain Smith's experience in Virginia the Marylanders resorted to trade, and for some axes, knives, cloth, and hoes purchased the village. The neighboring savages were weak, and, suffering much from the Susquehannas, who lived near the mouth of the river which now bears their name, received the whites gladly, and were converted to Christianity by the Jesuits. Leonard Calvert took up the work of establishing his colony in an orderly manner, profiting by Virginia's experience. The Indian fields were put in corn and tobacco and other land was cleared, the location selected was dry and healthy, and land was assigned individually from the first. The delusion of gold-hunting never troubled the colony. The result was that the first year a shipload of corn could be sent to New England to exchange for salt fish. Maryland was planted without a "starving time."

The settlement at St. Mary's.

February 26, 1635, the colonists held an assembly. They were not authorized to do it by the proprietor, but thought the charter gave them permission. They sent a number of laws to England, where Baltimore disallowed them because he intended to have the initiative in law making. Three years later he sent a body of laws which were submitted to a second assembly. He now learned how little the right of initiating law is worth when the representatives are in a bad humor; for the assembly was overwhelmingly against his code. Baltimore was a wise ruler and would not press his point. He authorized his brother, Governor Calvert, to allow the assembly to make laws as they desired,

Independence of the Assembly.

to be in force till he should pass on them in England. The proprietor tried again in 1649 to introduce a system of law favorable to his predominance, and failed again. In 1650 Maryland was given a legislature with two houses, one composed of representatives and the other of the councillors and persons specially summoned by the governor.

Baltimore learned in another way that the feudal ideas of the Stuarts could not be grafted on society in America. In pursuance of his grant he created manors consisting of one thousand or more acres. The lord of the manor was authorized to hold manor courts, to which his tenants might come and vote under his direction. The tenants consisted of English laborers who might soon become farm owners. They felt the impulse to freedom which inhered in a society the natural basis of which was the ability to work. They took control of the lord's courts, held local popular meetings, and in a short time the Maryland manors disappeared.

Short-Lived Manorial System.

The Jesuits themselves felt the force of democracy. They were much interested in the experiment and used the opportunity to acquire large tracts of land, — some from the proprietor and some from the Indians, who trusted them. They began to talk of the supremacy of the church law over the proprietor and assembly. Lord Baltimore was a true Catholic, but he was not intolerant, and he realized that if the Jesuits obtained control, public opinion in England would demand the destruction of this cherished asylum for his fellow-believers. He sent an agent to Maryland to check the extreme Catholics there. The Jesuits resented this and talked of excommunication. The proprietor then took decisive action. In 1641 he issued new regulations to control the granting of land, and one provision was that lands should not be granted in mortmain; that is, to religious societies. In the same sagacious spirit he sought to restrain religious disputation between the two religious groups, and in 1643 he went so far as to send notice to New England that all creeds would be protected in Maryland. All these efforts brought slight increase of population. Protestants preferred to settle in one of the Protestant colonies and Catholics were not going to America in large numbers. The most notable accession was the removal of more than one thousand Puritans from southern Virginia to escape Berkeley's strict regulations.

The Jesuits Checked.

Virginia did not relish the loss of what she considered her territory north of the Potomac. In 1630 she sent one of her chief citizens, William Claiborne, to England to try to defeat Baltimore's plans. He did not succeed, and returned to Virginia in a mood to make trouble. He lived at what is now Hampton, Virginia, but was engaged in the fur trade on the northern shores of the Chesapeake, and had a trading station with a fort and a small garrison on Kent's Island, within Baltimore's

Controversy over Kent's Island.

grant. Governor Leonard Calvert held that it ought to fall under Maryland jurisdiction, and the terms of the charter supported him. But Claiborne held that as it was settled under Virginia authority before the charter was issued it ought to remain under that jurisdiction. When, therefore, Calvert called on Claiborne to submit to Maryland, the latter refused and Virginia supported him. Rival fur traders stirred up feeling at St. Mary's, and August 5, 1635, they seized one of Claiborne's pinnaces. The Virginian was a high-spirited man and retaliated, blood being shed on both sides. Neither party cared to go further, and for nearly three years there was no more trouble, Claiborne continuing most of the time to trade in Maryland in defiance of Calvert. He was confident of his position, and in 1637 went to England on business. Governor Calvert then sent a force which surprised Kent's Island by night and forced its inhabitants to submit to his government. The following year Claiborne was attainted of treason by the Maryland assembly, and one of his followers was hanged for having committed manslaughter in one of the recent encounters. At the same time royal commissioners decided that the disputed island belonged to Lord Baltimore. Claiborne submitted unwillingly and bided his time. He had lost his island, but he found a means of annoying Maryland.

Maryland Drawn into Politics by Virginians.

From 1630 to 1650 Englishmen were divided into a king's party and a parliamentary party. The old court party of the London Company, still intriguing for the restoration of their charter, favored the king, who in 1630 sent John Harvey to rule Virginia in the interest of the royal prerogative. The former supporters of Sandys and Southampton were still active and were very strong in Virginia, where Claiborne was one of their leaders. In 1635 they deposed the governor and sent him to England with charges of misconduct. Lord Baltimore was a supporter of the king and a friend of John Harvey. He used his influence with Charles and got the deposed governor restored; but in 1639 the king felt the need of the liberal party and replaced Harvey by Wyatt, whom he removed in 1641 to make room for Sir William Berkeley, a thorough royalist. The popular party in Virginia followed these movements closely and identified Baltimore with their enemies. When, therefore, the king and parliament were at last at war, 1642, they thought the time had come to strike Baltimore in Maryland. Although they were not willing to oppose Charles in Virginia, they were willing to urge the Puritans of Maryland to strike at his friend, the proprietor of that province. Claiborne saw in it an opportunity to recover his property, and in 1645 landed on Kent's Island and tried to get the inhabitants to join him in an attack on the proprietary government. They would not follow him, not because there was no discontent in Maryland, but because they did not want to take up Claiborne's quarrel.

This discontent came to the surface in 1644 when Edward Hill, member of the popular Virginia party, appeared in Maryland to persuade the Puritans to return to their old homes south of the James. They did not heed him, but persuaded him to espouse their cause against the Catholics. They organized a Protestant assembly, and elected Hill governor, in the absence of Governor Calvert in England. But at this juncture Calvert returned, and finding his province in revolt got a body of soldiers from his brother royalist, Governor Berkeley, and made prisoners of Hill and his assembly. Six months later Governor Calvert died. He tried to pass the governorship to a Catholic and royalist, but affairs in England were ordered otherwise.

Civil War in Maryland, 1644.

In England the king's cause was now desperate, and astute Cecilius Calvert was looking for means of appeasing Parliament. The vacant governorship was just the opportunity; he gave it to William Stone, a Virginia liberal and a Protestant, and began to think of laws for religious liberty. Stone's first assembly passed the famous Toleration Act of 1649, protecting all who professed faith in Jesus Christ. It was honestly meant by the proprietor, but it was needed in order to protect the Catholics under a government thoroughly Protestant. Baltimore's reversal of policy created disgust among his old English friends, and Charles II in exile ordered that he surrender his government because he adhered to the Parliamentarians. This was an impotent thrust, and he used it as a good argument when his enemies tried to get Parliament to seize the province on the ground that it was a nest of Romanism.

Shrewd Policy of Baltimore.

In 1651 Parliament, now completely under Cromwell, sent commissioners — one of them being the ubiquitous Claiborne — to reduce to obedience Virginia, Maryland, Barbados, Antigua, and Bermuda. The islands submitted at once, Virginia made no resistance, and in 1652 Maryland also submitted. Baltimore's property rights were maintained, but he lost the government, though Stone remained in office under the parliamentary government. He was friendly to the proprietor, and in 1654 tried to get him recognized as head of the government under Parliament. This aroused the resentment of the commissioners, and Claiborne appeared with a Virginia army, deposed Stone, appointed commissioners in his stead, and disfranchised the Catholics. A new assembly was strongly Puritan and toleration was cast to the winds.

Triumph of the Protestants.

The deposed governor appealed to force, the Catholics and some Protestants fighting under him for the proprietor and liberty of conscience. He marched against the Puritans in 1655 and sustained a complete defeat at Providence. The Virginians now felt that they might reunite Maryland to their own colony. They sent a petition to England urging that the proprietary government be abolished and that the two colonies be

Peace at Last, 1657.

made one. Baltimore's wise concessions to Puritans now bore fruit. He completely defeated his enemies; and the government forced a settlement which left him in control of Maryland according to his charter and placed the Act of Toleration beyond question. With this settlement ended Virginia's interference with Maryland affairs and her hopes of recovering that province. At this time Baltimore's colony contained 8000 inhabitants on both sides of the Chesapeake as far north as the mouth of the Susquehanna.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND

The Plymouth Colony

When James I was driving non-conformist ministers from their livings, two of the victims, Richard Clifton and John Robinson, were received at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, by William Brewster, living in a manor house of the brother of Sir Edwin Sandys. The region is the cradle of religious reform; for not only did the New England Pilgrims originate here, but ten miles northeast of Scrooby is Epworth, whence issued a century later the founder of the great Wesleyan movement. Brewster, a man of stout heart, a retired diplomat, and a strong Puritan, gathered his neighbors under his roof to hear the words of Clifton and Robinson; and in 1606 was organized a separatist congregation, with Robinson for pastor. Self-control, plainness in dress, honesty of speech, and absolute faith in the Bible were some of the features of its faith. The pastor was a fellow of Cambridge, wise in business matters, and capable of ruling others by his sweetness and strength of character. An antagonist called him "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England."

Origin of the Pilgrims.

The congregation encountered persecutions immediately. The members were watched day and night and, as Bradford later wrote, "some were taken and clapt up in prison . . . and y^e^ most were faine to flie and leave their howses and habitations, and the means of their livlihood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterwards befell them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were y^e^ better prepared to bear them by y^e^ assistance of Gods grace and spirite." Fleeing one by one, the members at length arrived in Amsterdam and then went to Leyden, where they found employment and set up their church, their pastor going with them and sharing their sorrows. At the end of ten years their industrial condition was not improved, and their children were becoming Dutch in speech and ideas. They longed for a home in an English land and applied for a grant in Virginia. February 2, 1620, a patent issued from the London Company permitting them to settle a plantation and to govern it by laws of their own in keeping with the laws of England. Sandys got his friends to

In Leyden.

The Charter.

urge the king to promise that the settlement should not be molested; but James would only wink at the enterprise. This satisfied the Pilgrims, as we may now call them; for they reflected that "a seale as broad as the house floor" would not keep James to his promise.

The Project.

Not all the congregation could leave Leyden. Some were held back by family bonds, others were too old or too young, and others could not sell their property for money. Thus it happened that the majority remained in Leyden and the pastor stayed with them. By request, William Brewster went as leader. Robinson's preaching in Leyden had drawn to his congregation fugitives from many parts of England, and the result was that many of the emigrants were not of those who fled from Scrooby, and some were not members of the congregation. Seventy London merchants advanced 7000 pounds to fit out the expedition; and it was agreed that the net earnings should go into a common fund for seven years and then be divided among the shareholders. Ten pounds was the value of a share and each immigrant was allowed one share for services.

Voyage of the Mayflower.

September 6, 1620, after many delays, the Pilgrims, 102 in number, set sail from Plymouth for Virginia, as they thought, in a hired ship, the *Mayflower*. November 11 they sighted land at Cape Cod. Bearing southward to pass it and come to the Delaware river, where they designed to settle, they encountered shoals and drew back, coming to anchor in the harbor of Provincetown. The captain of the ship refused to continue his journey southward, alleging the dangers of the sea. After five weeks of exploration they took the ship to Plymouth, a place marked and named on Captain John Smith's map. The place had deep water for the ships, a stream of fresh water for drinking, and some cleared fields where Indians had once grown corn. December 16 (26, New Style) they brought the *Mayflower* to the place and began to build huts for the passengers.

The Seasoning Time.

A hard winter and much suffering now followed. Hunger, cold, and illness played their parts relentlessly, and by the arrival of spring hardly fifty of the colonists were alive. Of the eighteen wives who came in the ship only four survived. The seasoning process was as cruel here as in Virginia. But the spirit of the survivors did not flag. By hard work they raised a small amount of corn in 1621 and came to the autumn with hopefulness. But the arrival of thirty-five colonists without food necessitated a régime of half-rations. In the spring of 1622 came sixty-five more, and the whole settlement was in dire want until the corn ripened. During these distressing months the fish and game were abundant, but the colonists were agriculturalists and had not learned to take them. Here, as in Virginia, it took time to develop the keen resourcefulness of the American frontiersman.

Plymouth, outside the bounds of the London Company, could not profit by the original patent. But in 1621 it received a grant from the council for New England, which was created by the king in 1620 with authority to settle the coast from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of latitude. The terms were not satisfactory, and in 1630 a more valid grant was secured. The colonists desired a charter like that of Massachusetts Bay, but the gift was denied them. Without a frame of government from the crown they were therefore thrown on their own initiative. The result was the "Mayflower Compact," signed November 21, 1620, by each male adult except the servants and two hired seamen. It created "a civil body politic" on democratic lines but fully subservient to the royal authority. In the absence of a charter it was the basis of civil government in Plymouth until the colony was united with Massachusetts in 1691. The first governor, John Carver, died in 1621, and his successor, William Bradford, was annually reëlected, until his death in 1657, with the exception of five years, when he refused to serve.

Civil Government.

The relations of the colonists to the Indians proved fortunate. Pestilence had swept away those in the immediate neighborhood. In the spring of 1621 Samoset, from the island of Monhegan, arrived at the town crying "Welcome!" He had lived for some time with English traders and proved useful to the colonists. He brought to them Squanto, another Indian, who taught the whites to raise Indian corn and to fertilize their fields with fish. In 1621 a treaty was made with Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, and it resulted in fifty years of peace with the Indians south and east of Plymouth. To the west were the Narragansetts, who sent a war challenge, a bundle of arrows tied in a rattlesnake's skin. Bradford promptly returned the skin stuffed with bullets, and the threatened danger vanished. In 1623 the Indians to the northward planned to exterminate the whites whom the adventurer Weston had settled at Weymouth. The whites asked Plymouth for aid, and Captain Miles Standish, with the fighting men of that colony, marched against the savages and taught them to respect the white man's arms. After that Plymouth had peaceful relations with all the Indians.

Relations with the Indians.

Another difficulty overcome by Bradford's good sense was the communal form of labor, adopted for seven years at the instance of the merchants who promoted the colony. Lack of interest marked the system, and the colony seemed on the verge of destruction when in 1623 Bradford assigned a parcel of land to each family for use. The result was good, and individual effort returned with the prospect of individual gain. The fur trade, well managed, proved profitable, and from the proceeds the debt to the company in England was paid off.

Common Stock Abandoned.

In church government the Pilgrims were thoroughgoing Separatists. Pastor and elders were elected by the adult males of the congregation. Religious ceremonies were rigorously eschewed, and for a time even marriages and funerals were conducted without religious forms. Attendance at meeting was compulsory on members and non-members. Theology ruled the minds of the people and the orthodox believed they saw on every hand revelations of the divine will. In 1623 drought threatened to destroy the crop and a day of humiliation and prayer was observed; after which came a copious rain which saved the harvest. In gratitude a Thanksgiving Day was set apart for the autumn. There had been, however, a day of thanksgiving in 1621.

Religious Ideas.

The growth of Plymouth was slow, for the soil was not fertile and but little remained from the annual product after the food of the colony was set aside. There was no staple crop, as tobacco in Virginia, from which a large money return could be expected. Immigration was naturally from the Separatists, who came slowly. Thus it happened that in 1624 the population was 180, and in 1626 it was 300. By this time a desire to disperse and settle on the better lands to the northward could not be restrained, though Bradford did his best. Men abandoned their house lots as they went, and Duxbury and Scituate sprang into thriving existence. Each had its own civil and ecclesiastical government like that of Plymouth; and for common affairs of each kind there were representative assemblies. To be admitted to citizenship in a town or membership in a congregation required a vote of the existing citizens or members, as the case might be.

Expansion of Plymouth.

Meanwhile, much attention was given to colonizing other parts of New England. The Plymouth Company of 1606 was reorganized in the Council for New England, 1620, and received a valuable fishing monopoly. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, king's men and churchmen, were the most active members. They made large plans which they had not the means of executing. In 1623 a settlement was made at Rye, in New Hamsphire, only to fail in 1626. In 1627 an attempt was made at Dover and another at York, while fishing stations were established at Pemaquid Point and on Monhegan Island. Saco and Biddeford soon followed. Other small settlements were Cape Anne, 1623, Hull, 1625, Salem, 1625, "Merry Mount," near Quincy, 1625, and Buzzard's Bay, 1627. Most of them were mere fishing stations, and none gave evidence of prosperity. The Council of New England could offer them little aid. After granting most of what is now New Hampshire and Maine to Mason and Gorges and smaller tracts to other persons, it asked the king in 1635 to annul its charter, saying, "what remains is only a breathless carcass." From this time we hear little more of the council. Most of the lands over which it had juris-

Other New England Settlements.

diction had been granted to former members and the council, who now held of the king directly.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony

The Pilgrims were Separatists, but the Puritans, who founded Massachusetts, wished to remain in the established church, although they thought to reform its doctrines. They were especially earnest against bishops, whom they considered a relic of popery; and they resented the wearing of surplices. They were very numerous, and Laud, Bishop of London and supporter of Charles I in his arbitrary government, began to harry the Puritan clergy out of their offices. Thus arose the impulse of the Puritan migration to New England, a place where prelates would not distress and religion would be preserved in Puritan integrity. Yet other motives were present. The New World offered wide industrial opportunity, and it seemed to be possible to found a government there free from the taint of absolutism which then alarmed many Englishmen. The Puritans were generally thrifty and practical business men and liberals in their political ideas. Among them, also, were many thoughtful and well-educated men who could give reasons for the doctrines they held. Of this class was John Winthrop, a well-to-do landowner, a former student but not a graduate of Cambridge, a lawyer, and a wise man of affairs. He would have been a leader of any community in which he lived.

Origin of the Puritan Migration.

In 1628, before the Puritan migration was planned, six Englishmen, among them John Endicott, secured from the Council of New England a grant of land bounded on the north by the headwaters of the Merrimac and on the south by the source of the Charles and stretching westward to the Pacific. They were authorized to establish fisheries, trading stations, and agricultural settlements, and were named the Massachusetts Bay Company. In 1629 the king confirmed the grant and gave the grantees civil jurisdiction within the limits of the grant. Endicott with about forty others arrived at Naumkeag in September, 1628, to plant the first town. He found there the remnant of the Cape Anne settlement and the two parties settled together amicably, changing the name of the place to Salem. Endicott and his associates were Puritans, but up to this time their enterprise had no religious significance. In 1629, however, the number of associates was enlarged, and among the new members was Winthrop. The struggle between parliament and crown was already begun, and many on the former side felt that tyranny would certainly triumph and were willing to escape betimes from its grasp. In August, 1629, twelve leaders of this group made the Cambridge Agreement, pledging themselves to emigrate to Massachusetts if the company would transfer the government entirely to the settlers.

Massachusetts Bay Charter.

The company accepted the proposal, and the transfer made, John Winthrop was elected governor by those who proposed to go with him. June 12, 1630, he arrived at Salem with eleven ships and 900 settlers. Here, he found, was much discouragement and some suffering, and he decided to make his chief settlement elsewhere. He selected a site at the mouth of the Charles and called the place Boston. But it was too small for such a large number of settlers, and the colonists dividing into bands settled seven other towns from Salem to Dorchester. They did not escape sickness and hunger, and by the end of the first winter 200 had died. But the governor strove hard to provide food and was able to bring the colony through the winter without serious discouragement. After that the growth was rapid, and in 1643 the total population was over 16,000. But the outbreak of war between parliament and king made it necessary for every Puritan to remain in England, and from that time the migration to New England was slow.

The Charter Transferred.

Boston Settled.

Soon after the colony was settled there arose serious difficulty in regard to its government. The charter intrusted authority to the governor, the assistants of whom there were to be not more than eighteen, and the freemen, but it did not define the power of each. The same difficulty appeared in other colonies, and in them, as in Massachusetts, it had to be worked out gradually into a practical solution. Trouble arose when Winthrop, a man of strong personality, began to act in important affairs on his own initiative. He lent powder to Plymouth, established trading stations, and erected fortifications at Boston. Finally, acting with the assistants, he levied a tax to pay for fortifications at Newtown. Watertown refused to pay, claiming that only the freemen might lay a tax. Here was defiance in the infant state, and Winthrop was not the man to tolerate it. The townsmen were called before him and withdrew their protest. But their cause was good and their action led to reform. Next year, 1632, the general court, the assembly of all the freemen, enacted that each town should elect two delegates to advise with the governor about taxation. This hardly restrained the stout will of the governor, and in 1634 three delegates appeared at the general court from each of the eight towns and secured the adoption by that body of a fundamental reform. Henceforth, of the four courts held each year according to the charter, one, attended by all the freemen, was to elect governor, deputy governor, and assistants, and the others, composed of delegates from each town, was to make laws, grant land, and transact other important public business. At first both assistants and delegates sat together, but this was changed in 1644, when a bicameral system was adopted and the assistants became in reality an upper house. Winthrop and many others regretted these changes, for they believed government should

A Constitutional System Evolved.

rest with the upper class. But the popular party was strong and did not cease its efforts until in 1644 it defeated Winthrop's reëlection. But in 1646 he was again successful, and retained the governorship until he died in 1649. We shall not understand Massachusetts history if we do not remember that the colony was long ruled by the ideal of an aristocracy of virtue.

The Franchise.

To insure the supremacy of the virtuous it was enacted in 1631 that none but members of a church should be freemen. By this means the individual congregations, under the influence of their ministers, regulated the suffrage. Joining the church thus became the means of enfranchisement. Although this practice must have secured the disfranchisement of the most worthless characters, it also excluded those who for conscience sake would not join a church, and those who held other than the Puritan faith. But such people were not desired in the colony. The settlement was planned as a Puritan commonwealth, and if non-Puritans came they might remain as long as they were quiet, but without the suffrage. If they sought to spread another faith, they must be sent away. A word must be said for the men who made such laws. The fathers of many of them remembered the numerous executions at the stake in the days of Queen Mary, and the religious wars of France were only recently extinguished, while a similar struggle in Germany was then in its worst stage of horror. Believing in the doctrines for which so many lives had been surrendered, they felt justified in safeguarding it in the New World. Massachusetts was not established as a home for toleration, but as a well-defended fortress of the Puritan faith.

Roger Williams and his Views.

There was frequent necessity for enforcing uniformity in the early years of the colony. European Protestantism at the time was beset with schism, and it was natural for the same symptoms to appear in America. They were repressed sternly, and the victims went back to England with loud complaints of intolerance. But one of the dissenting ones would not return. Roger Williams, destined to found Rhode Island as a genuine home of tolerance, was a protégé of Sir Edward Coke, the famous jurist. He had a brilliant career at Cambridge, but refused to take orders because he would not support the Establishment. In 1631 he became minister at Salem, then preached at Plymouth, and at length returned to Salem. He preached the separation of church and state, declared that an oath was only to be enforced morally, and said that it was a sin to worship according to the forms of the established church. His rigid literalness led him to assert that the soil belonged to the Indians, from whom alone the whites could acquire title.

All this would have aroused the authorities at any time, but in 1635 it occasioned especial alarm. Excluded schismatics returning to England had pronounced the colony a nest of separatism,

and the Privy Council had in 1634 stopped ten ships about to sail until their passengers agreed to conform with the Prayer Book. Meanwhile, a commission headed by Laud was appointed to supervise the colonies in America. The general court of Massachusetts, much alarmed, took steps to fortify the harbors, but in a short time the tide turned. Good diplomacy had thrust the danger aside, but no one knew when it would return. It was not a time for preaching such radicalism as Williams's in the colony. The Puritans, claiming that they held the true English faith, were accustomed at this time to assert rather stoutly their accord with the English Church, although, as a matter of fact, they had no bishop and paid not the slightest attention to the British hierarchy.

The Colony under Suspicion.

Williams's views inevitably elicited a response, and one of those polemic conflicts ensued for which the age was noted. The defender of orthodoxy was John Cotton, of Boston, and under his proddings Williams took a still more radical position. He began to criticize other ministers; he advised his own flock not to affiliate with other churches, and when some of them ignored him he excommunicated them. This was too much, even for Salem, and it turned against the minister, who felt impelled to resign. He was now summoned before the general court, and refusing to recant he was ordered into exile in October, 1635. As winter was approaching, he was permitted to remain until spring on condition that he did not preach his tenets. He seems to have made no promise in the matter, but when it was known in January that he was instructing a group of twenty persons, perparations were made to send him to England. Learning of this he escaped across the snows to the Narragansett Indians, who received him kindly. Here, outside of Massachusetts, he planted the settlement of Providence. He was followed by a small number of friends.

Roger Williams Banished.

A more important division was occasioned by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Of the best social rank in Boston, she had her following among the influential class. She was distinguished for mental acumen and piety and showed much ability in discussion. Her first achievement was to gather a number of women to whom she explained sermons. From that she advanced to the teaching of her own doctrines, and soon she had a large following, among whom were many men of importance. Then the orthodox became alarmed and began to warn the faithful against what they declared were her errors. Attack and counter-attack led to recrimination and intrigues, in which religion and politics were intermingled. At length a council of ministers assembled but did not openly condemn her doctrines. In 1635 young Sir Harry Vane arrived in Boston and became an adherent of her faith. He was exceedingly popular, and in 1636 was elected governor. Thus strength-

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson.

ened, Mrs. Hutchinson's party had probably a majority in Boston, but in the other towns the orthodox side was stronger. In 1637, when the echoes of the controversy reached all parts of the colony, a synod of ministers convened and laid down eighty-nine points of orthodoxy, all in repudiation of the teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson, which were clearly Antinomian. Against an utterance by the ministers the politicians dared not act, and now the weaker of the new sect began to desert it, among them Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, who had once been friendly to the new ideas. In the same year Governor Vane was defeated for reëlection by Winthrop, who took a conservative attitude in the dispute, and a short time afterwards the rejected candidate left Boston for England. In November, 1637, the situation came before the general court, which decided that only one form of religion should exist in the colony, and declared that the newer should go.

The affair ended with a trial which seems to moderns a judicial horror; but it was held in conformity with the usage of the English parliament when it sat to investigate a great and dangerous matter of state. Mrs. Hutchinson was summoned before the court to explain her doctrines. Had she been cautious she might have baffled her opponents; but having a sharp tongue she compromised herself by her replies. Being asked, "How do you know that it is God that did reveal these things to you and not Satan?" she replied, "How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son?" "By an immediate voice," said one of the court. "So to me by an immediate revelation," was the rejoinder. This was enough. The Puritan held the words of the Bible for the highest authority and had no tolerance for those who claimed special revelations. Winthrop, presiding over the court, put the question: Shall Mrs. Hutchinson be banished from Massachusetts? and only two votes were in the negative. When she asked why she was banished, the governor replied: "Say no more. The court knows wherefore and is satisfied." Her leading followers were fined or disfranchised. In the following spring she was brought before her own church to be dealt with as a church member. Broken in spirit by imprisonment and isolation, she recanted the most extreme of her doctrines, saying they arose from "the height and pride of her spirit." But this availed nothing. Several of the most pious ministers present denounced her as a liar and she was formally excommunicated. With her family she went southward to Narragansett Bay, and when, four years later, she and her family were massacred by the Indians the saints of Massachusetts took it as a judgment from heaven.

Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson.

The next important protest against dogmatic uniformity in Massachusetts came from the Quakers, and it was sternly repressed. The death of Winthrop in 1649 and Rev. John Cotton in 1652 left Endicott, a narrower-minded man, in control. In 1656 came to Boston

two Quakers, women, who felt it their duty to "bear witness" in that town. They were sent away, but eight others immediately appeared only to be driven back, also. This caused much anxiety among the ruling class, who considered Quakerism especially dangerous. Accordingly, letters were sent to the other New England colonies urging that laws be passed for the exclusion of the pestiferous heresy. Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth gave favorable replies, and laws were passed to keep the new sect out of their bounds. Massachusetts passed similar acts, but as they were continuously violated she finally enacted that if any banished Quakers returned to the colony they should suffer death. Immediately William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mrs. Dyer, wife of the secretary of Rhode Island, appeared in Boston. They were ordered to depart, but at once came back and were sentenced to be hanged. The two men were executed, 1659; but Mrs. Dyer was reprieved at the last moment when her son offered to take her to her home. In 1660 she returned and suffered martyrdom. Other colonies forbade the Quakers to preach, as Virginia and New Netherland, but it was only Massachusetts that put them to death. In striking contrast was the course of Rhode Island, which made no restriction on liberty of speech.

The Quakers in Boston.

The Settlement of Other New England Colonies

Four settlements, at Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick, each made by religious refugees from Massachusetts, make up the early colony of Rhode Island. The first was established by Roger Williams and a small group of followers in 1636 on lands granted by the Indians. The second was made by Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers in 1638, the third by a portion of her followers who left Portsmouth in 1639 and settled along the shore of the excellent harbor of Newport, and the fourth was planted in 1638 by Samuel Gorton, an insurgent from Massachusetts who could not stand the turbulent régime of Providence. There was much discussion among the settlers, as was to be expected from men whose very existence was religious dissent; but out of it came a spirit of democracy which left a lasting impress on the settlements. They began without charters and had no other form of government than what they established by their own agreement. In 1643 Roger Williams, on a visit to England, got an act of incorporation under the government of the Long Parliament, confirming to the people of the four settlements their lands with the right to govern themselves in their own way. Under this act a common system was organized, and it remained the authority for Rhode Island and Providence until in 1663 a more regular charter was issued by the king.

Rhode Island Founded.

Meanwhile, the lands south of Massachusetts and west of Rhode Island had attracted settlers. On the Connecticut, Dutch trading forts had already been planted where Hartford and Wethersfield later stood, and one object of the English was probably to save this rich valley from the control of New Amsterdam. The migration was begun in 1636 when Rev. Thomas Hooker and a large part of his congregation at Cambridge sold their lands and moved in a body to the upper Connecticut valley. Other groups from Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury soon followed, those from the last-named town settling at Springfield, which proved to be within the bounds of Massachusetts. Out of this movement sprang English settlements at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, and later at other places in Connecticut. The newcomers did not drive out the Dutch, but in many ways made life uncomfortable for them. The river towns of Connecticut in 1639 adopted a written form of government with a governor, assistants, and a law-making general court composed of deputies from the towns. The suffrage was to be regulated by the towns. This, it will be seen, was but a copy of the Massachusetts system.

The River Towns of Connecticut.

The upper river towns were not planted before still another enterprise was launched at the mouth of the Connecticut. In this region the Earl of Warwick held a large tract of land from the Council of New England. In 1631 he transferred it to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others, who sent out a colony under John Winthrop, Jr. At the mouth of the river it settled the town of Saybrook, and its territory was known as the colony of Connecticut. For many years it languished through lack of funds.

A third enterprise was the colony of New Haven, planted in 1638 by Theophilus Eaton and Rev. John Davenport. It was a strong band of immigrants, and they came with great hopes of making their port the commercial metropolis of the region. But various disasters intervened, and for a time prosperity came slowly. In 1646 they built a ship and sent her away with a cargo worth 5000 pounds, but nothing further was heard of her. Tradition says that once afterwards she appeared as a phantom ship and suddenly disappeared as she seemed about to enter the harbor.

New Haven Established.

The settlement was founded without charter or land grant, and the inhabitants proceeded to constitution-making of their own will. Taking the Bible as guide and law book they transformed the congregation into a body politic to rule in civil as in ecclesiastical affairs. Thus none but church members should vote, and a committee of seven members was provided with authority to determine who should be admitted to church membership and consequently to the franchise. This oligarchical government remained in force until in 1662 New Haven was merged into the Connecticut Colony, when that enterprise got a charter from

The New Haven Government.

Charles II. But we must not forget that narrow as the basis of government was in New Haven, as in other New England colonies, it was an honest and beneficent government in most of the affairs of life. Its sole severity was in requiring a rigid observance of Puritan practices, and to most of the inhabitants this was not a hardship.

The Pequot War, 1637.

The advance of the whites along the coast alarmed the Pequot Indians, who lived in the central part of the present state of Connecticut. The origin of the trouble does not clearly appear, but the settlers were convinced that the times demanded a most signal chastisement. Massachusetts lent a hand, and in 1637 a combined force of whites from Massachusetts and Connecticut, with 280 Indian allies, ancient foes of the Pequots, surprised the enemy in a fort near the Rhode Island boundary line and of the 400 men, women, and children within it not more than five escaped alive. The Pequots were then pursued vigorously. Overtaken in a swamp near New Haven, another great slaughter occurred, and the result of the two engagements was the complete extinction of the Pequot tribe as such. It was grim dealing, but it gave the whites peace from the Indians for many years.

New Hampshire and Maine.

Meanwhile the coasts of New Hampshire and Maine had been dotted with fishing and trading villages which gradually grew into agricultural towns. In some cases they received fugitives from the religious persecutions in Massachusetts. These settlements were usually made under the protection of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, who held grants for nearly the whole region, although some were direct from the Council of New England. In 1635 Mason obtained confirmation of a grant for the region between Salem and the Piscataqua as his own property, and called it New Hampshire. The region between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec was confirmed to Gorges and called Maine. Massachusetts had a claim to most of the former, for her charter fixed her north boundary at an east and west line running three miles north of the source of the Merrimac. She did not act violently, but when Mason died (1635) and his heirs left the New Hampshire towns to shift for themselves, she absorbed them one by one, giving protection in exchange for allegiance. In 1647 Gorges died and Maine was left without a head. The towns tried for a while to maintain a general government of their own, but they were very weak, and much disorder appeared. Now Massachusetts realized that her hour was come. Assuming the aggressive, in 1652 she ran her northern boundary in keeping with her own claim, and extending the line eastward to the ocean, secured the coast towns as far north as Saco Bay. The weak settlements to the north of the line remained independent for six years, when they also submitted to Massachusetts. In all these towns the government was organized on the regular New England plan; but not all of them were of the congregational faith.

The Pequot war seems to have been the first occasion of a desire for union among the Puritan colonies. Connecticut made such a suggestion in 1637, but Massachusetts raised the question of boundaries, and it was impossible to find a satisfactory basis of coöperation. In a year or two alarm was felt lest the Dutch seize the Connecticut settlements, and the suggestion was repeated, but with the same results. In 1642 Connecticut renewed the request, alleging a general Indian league to crush the whites. Then Massachusetts began to relent, and in 1643 the desired league was formed without reference to boundaries. To it were admitted the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. New Hampshire and Maine were not taken in because they were unlike the leagued colonies "in their ministry and administration," and Rhode Island was left out because the inhabitants were "tumultuous" and "schismatic."

New England Confederation.

The Constitution of the Confederacy provided for a firm and permanent offensive and defensive league, the management of which was placed in the hands of two commissioners from each of the four colonies. These commissioners by a majority vote of six were to settle questions of war or peace, quotas of men and arms, contributions for the general fund, and division of the spoils gained in war. Contributions were to be paid by the individual colonies in proportion to population, and the confederacy was not to interfere in the local affairs of a colony.

Its Constitution.

The confederation was in operation for forty years. It did not remove all the causes of conflict between the colonies, but it lessened them. It stood the test of the terrible war with King Philip, and only fell to pieces when the early dangers it was formed to meet were passed. Although phrases in the constitution seem to indicate that the framers hoped to build up a permanent federal state, the confederacy was, in fact, only a league for self-protection. Between the large colony of Massachusetts and her small neighbors there was too much latent jealousy for permanent coöperation. The latter were vigilant lest they lose some of their power, and the requirement that six of the eight commissioners should assent to business was an expression of this feeling. On the other hand, Massachusetts resented the checks the constitution put upon her. She declared that she was forced to assume a disproportionate part of the common burden. In 1653 the commissioners decided to raise troops for an expected war against the Dutch, and apportioned the levies of troops so that Massachusetts should furnish two-thirds of them. The Bay Colony did not relish fighting a war to protect the people of Connecticut, and persuaded itself that the war was not necessary. The requisition was accordingly ignored in words which strongly remind us of the language in which South Carolina justified nullification many years later. There were cases of friction which made it clear that it was futile to expect the one strong government to yield itself to the direction of three weak ones.

New York under the Dutch

The history of New Amsterdam, as the Dutch called New York, begins with the exploration of Henry Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch employ, in 1609. In the *Half Moon*, a "fly-boat" manned by eighteen or twenty men, he skirted the coast from Newfoundland to Virginia, searching for a northwest passage. He entered Delaware Bay, but turned back when he observed shoals. Northward 125 miles he came to a broad harbor which he entered safely. The water was very salt, and he thought it might indicate the long-sought passage to other seas. Following its course he sailed onward, past beautiful hills and rich plains, until at last he was halted by shallows at what is now Albany. From that point a small boat proceeded eight leagues, but only proved that no open sea lay beyond.

Henry Hudson.

This exploration revealed to the Dutch the value of the Hudson river. With an excellent harbor at its mouth and long water communication to the interior of the country, it was apparent that it possessed great advantages in the Indian trade. From 1610 their traders began to frequent the river, among them Adriaen Block, a man of much enterprise. In 1613 his ship was burned, but he built another in which he began to explore the New England waters. He visited Long Island Sound, the Connecticut river, Block Island, which bears his name, and the coast as far as Nahant. For his services he received for three years the monopoly of the fur trade between parallels 40° and 45° north latitude. For trading purposes Manhattan Island was of supreme importance, and by 1620 it was the center of a fair trade.

Adriaen Block.

In 1621 the government of Holland established the Dutch West India Company, a trading enterprise, and authorized it to spoil the Spaniards and to settle colonies in Africa and the New World. It had no special reference to the Hudson river region, but that section naturally attracted attention, and in 1623 a small settlement was made on Manhattan Island. The enterprise was confided by the company to Peter Minuit (pronounced Minnewit), the governor, who with five councillors was the sole governing body. They were supplemented, however, by a *schout-fiscal*, who arrested and prosecuted delinquents, and a secretary who represented the company's financial interests, and between these and the governor and council much friction occurred. All these officers were appointed by the company, and popular suffrage was not granted. The settlement was called New Netherland, and the town on Manhattan Island was New Amsterdam. The boundaries of the province were indefinite. Soon after his arrival Peter Minuit purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for goods worth $24,

New Netherland Settled.

and began to erect a fort with a mill and large houses for the company's business.

New Amsterdam grew slowly, for its chief business was the fur trade, and agriculturalists were not attracted. In 1629 the company tried to promote the settlement of the interior by adopting a system of large landed estates. It was provided that any member of the company who in four years should carry to the colony fifty families at his own expense should have a large tract of land over which he should have extensive civil and criminal authority under the title of Patroon. He should also have on his estate the monopoly of weaving and some exclusive trading privileges. It was thus definitely proposed to establish a feudal system of land-holding like that of Holland. To encourage the patroons the company agreed to furnish them with as many negroes slaves as were desired. Under this system the valuable lands around New Amsterdam and on the Hudson were quickly absorbed by the most influential members of the company.

The Patroon System.

Peter Minuit's administration ended in 1632, and he was succeeded by Wouter van Twiller, who had married a niece of the great patroon, Kiliaen van Rensselaer. He received much opposition within the colony, and his peace was also disturbed by the encroachments of the New England men in Connecticut and the threats of Virginians who resented the presence of the Dutch in the Delaware. He was glad to retire from his unhappy position, and regarded with complacency the troubles of William Kieft, his successor, who arrived in 1638. Under him occurred a war with the Indians, who fought to save their hunting ground from the advance of the whites. The easy-going Dutch were slow to fight, and only Kieft's insistence brought the council to a declaration of war. In battle the settlers were not efficient, and at last Kieft called in Captain John Underhill, a soldier of fortune from New England, who took prominent part against the Pequots. He collected 150 soldiers, surprised and destroyed an Indian village at Strickland's Plains, and of the 500 inhabitants only eight are said to have escaped. In this war the settlers built a wall across the lower end of Manhattan Island to protect their fields and houses. Its memory is perpetuated in the name of Wall Street. In 1646 peace was made with the savages, but already the colony was in dire distress. The inhabitants of New Amsterdam were about 400, and among them a visitor heard eighteen languages. They were discontented, and assailed Kieft bitterly. As sole ruler with the Council he was held responsible for all the evils that came, and the truth is, he was not a man to exercise despotism benevolently. In 1647 he was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant.

Confusion under Van Twiller and Kieft.

Indian War.

The new governor began by declaring that he would rule as a father over his children. He promulgated many ordinances against intem-

perance, but they were not enforced, and it was charged that he himself received money to wink at their infraction. He required the Indian traders to have licenses from the governor, which proved an advantage to his private purse. But he dared not of his own power levy taxes, and out of this feeling came a step in constitutional development. He asked the people to elect eighteen men from whom he and the Council selected nine to advise with them in the government, their successors to be chosen by themselves and the governor and council. Thus was created the Nine Men, destined to be a thorn in his side. But the desire for self-government was not satisfied, and at length a leader of the liberals appeared in Adrian van der Donck, president of the Nine. In 1649 he went to Holland with a petition, asking the government to take the colony out of the hands of the Company and give it just laws. He also carried a severe arraignment of Stuyvesant, whose irritable temper and covetousness gave ample grounds of complaint. In 1652 his efforts succeeded so far that municipal privileges were granted to New Amsterdam, but the governor was allowed to appoint the officials. His despotism was nowise lessened by the creation of this body of subordinates. The next year an attack by the English seemed imminent, and Stuyvesant permitted delegates from the towns and villages to meet to provide means of defense. But the assembly took up the state of the colony instead, and sent a memorial to the governor, severely arraigning the existing system. An exchange of arguments followed, in which the governor's aversion to popular government was made very plain, and the result of the agitation was nothing. The existing despotism continued until the end of Dutch control, 1664.

Governor Stuyvesant.

Demand for Liberal Government.

Religious bigotry was added to the stout old governor's love of power. He hated the Lutherans, Independents, and Baptists, and issued a proclamation that no public religious meetings should be held except those in accordance with the Dutch Reform Church. The ordinance was often evaded, and there were some notable cases in which its violation was severely punished. The worst was that of Robert Hodshone, a Quaker, who, for preaching at Hemstead, Long Island, was sentenced by the governor to two years of hard labor. When he refused to work he was beaten on three successive days until he fell to his feet. Then taken before the governor he would speak when told to hold his tongue, for which he was hung up by his hands and beaten until his back was raw. This also was repeated until the popular mind sickened of it. At last the governor's sister interceded, and Hodshone was allowed to go out of the province. Spite of such severities the dissenting churches in New Netherland grew stronger.

Religious Persecutions.

From conflicts with the settlements around New Amsterdam the efforts of Stuyvesant were drawn to the protection of his boundaries

north and east. The Delaware Bay, as well as the Connecticut river, were both within the charter limits of New Netherland, though neither was settled by an agricultural colony. To the former came in 1638 fifty Swedish settlers under Peter Minuit, formerly governor of New Amsterdam, planting near the site of Wilmington the town of Christina. At that time Sweden was a leading factor in the Thirty Years' War, and her colony was not disturbed. But the war ended in 1648, and the Dutch within a few years made plans to seize the intruding settlements. In 1655 Governor Stuyvesant went against them with a largely superior force and easily compelled their submission. Sweden was in no position to retake what was lost, and the incipient colonial establishment came to an end.

The Swedish Settlements.

With the English on the Connecticut Stuyvesant had less success. The Dutch trading fort at Hartford, Fort Good Hope, was completely isolated by planting the English settlements on the river; but it remained undisturbed, flying the Dutch flag and taking what share it could of the Indian trade until 1654. In that year, war between Holland and England being in progress, the colonists seized Fort Good Hope, and with that Dutch possessions in New England passed out of existence. Governor Stuyvesant's patriotism suffered a severe shock in this calamity. For several years the English settlements had been moving westward along the shores of Long Island Sound as far as Greenwich and throughout the eastern half of Long Island,—additional evidence of the humiliation of Dutch power. Into the New Netherland settlements themselves Englishmen penetrated and became a large part of the element in opposition to Stuyvesant's despotic rule.

Dutch excluded from Connecticut.

The English on Long Island.

The situation in the colony invited an attempt at conquest by the English, and the Connecticut colonies were anxious to have it made by the New England Confederacy; but Massachusetts held back. Then appeal was made to England, and in 1654 the government was induced to undertake an expedition, but peace with Holland was made before it could arrive. Now followed ten years of quiet, during which New Netherland continued to offend against the British navigation laws. The English had never given up their claim to the whole coast and the Dutch colony was within the formal bounds of both New England and Virginia. Why should it continue to defy British power? The answer came in 1664 when the king, Charles II, granted it to his brother, the Duke of York, together with jurisdiction over New England itself.

British Plan to Seize New Netherland.

The Duke acted vigorously. Colonel Richard Nicolls was appointed his deputy-governor, and August 18, 1664, arrived before New Amsterdam with three vessels of war and an adequate body of soldiers. He

was joined by men from Connecticut, and word came that Massachusetts would also send aid. At the same time the Englishmen on Long Island were arming, and throughout the Dutch villages themselves was apparent a determination to help the English in wiping out the rule of the Dutch West India Company. Stuyvesant was in a rage. He ordered all the citizens to work on the fortifications, and was determined to fight to the last. But the burgomasters of the town realized the impossibility of defense, and when Nicolls by letter offered the Dutch all the liberties of Englishmen, with intercourse with Holland, they asked to see the letter. Stuyvesant tore it into bits and said he would rather "be carried out dead" than yield to the men around him. He ordered the guns of the fort to open fire, but he was led away from the ramparts before they could be discharged, and August 29 the town was surrendered. A short time later the forts on the Delaware capitulated, and the English flag floated from Florida to Maine.

Early Relations of the Colonies with England

The Colonies depend on the King.

By an old principle of English law all land in the kingdom not otherwise granted belonged to the crown. Under it the king created fiefs at will and gave the grantees authority to establish local governments. When the American continent was added to the English domain it fell under this rule. Its lands became king's lands, and were subject to his disposal. It was, therefore, the crown and not parliament which created the American colonies and gave them their forms of government. Having created the colonies, the crown, acting through the Privy Council, provided the rules under which they continued to exist, and supervised them in such ways as were compatible with the charters. Matters of trade, however, were ever near to the British heart and were jealously maintained by parliament, so that in regard to colonial trade parliament was supreme. In most other things the colonies must look to the crown.

But he gives Little Aid.

The king contributed little to the support of the colonies. Virginia was planted by a company of private individuals, actuated partly by philanthropic and partly by commercial purposes. Maryland was the enterprise of the Calverts, who wished to found a home for Catholics and incidentally to establish a great and permanent landed estate. New England was settled by groups of Puritans who wished to have happy and prosperous homes in which they might worship in their own faith. To each enterprise the king gave his sanction and his blessing, but nothing more. American colonization in its earliest days was not an enterprise of the crown.

When the colonies were safely established and it was seen that

another England was growing up beyond the sea, the king began to take a larger interest in them. Virginia fell into his hands when the charter was annulled in 1624, not so much because James I had a definite desire to direct the colony as because he hated the liberal government established by the company. His successor, Charles I, came to see that some kind of colonial supervision ought to be provided, and appointed a commission, with Laud at its head, to make laws for all the colonies, regulate their religion, appoint their judges, and remove their governors when advisable. In the turbulent times then existing the commission did nothing. In 1643 the Long Parliament took up the subject and appointed the Earl of Warwick governor over all the colonies. He was to be assisted by seventeen commissioners with wide governing powers. Much occupied with other things Warwick seems to have done little in regard to colonial affairs, which after the restoration were placed in the hands of a Council for Foreign Plantations, an advisory body reporting to the Privy Council. It showed little capacity, and in 1675 was superseded by a standing committee of the council, known as the Lords of Trade, which proved far more industrious. Most of the colonies, it must be remembered, existed under charters, which might be forfeited if certain conditions were violated. It was the duty of Lords of Trade to inform themselves of colonial affairs and report to the king a violation of a charter. Over a royal colony the Lords had a larger jurisdiction. They prepared, or saw, the instructions to a royal governor, passed on the laws of an assembly in a royal province, advised the king whether or not such laws should be allowed, and had a large influence in the appointment of officials. Over the colonies generally they had a broad supervision, informing themselves about the conditions of trade, making suggestions for the better execution of the navigation acts, interfering in disputes between colonies, and, in short, seeking to evolve a system of colonial administration which should embody the best results for both the colonies and the British nation. In 1696 the Lords of Trade were reorganized into the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, a board independent of the Privy Council. As the English cabinet developed, the functions of commissioners decreased. Finally in 1768 a colonial secretary of state became the head of colonial affairs.

Colonies to be brought under Royal Oversight.

Inoperative Commissions.

The Lords of Trade.

The Puritan revolution in England, by overthrowing Laud's power, probably saved the colonies from an attempt to bring them under an active dependence on the crown. It left New England undisturbed, and dealt gently with Virginia, where Charles II had been proclaimed king, and with Maryland, whose Catholic proprietor was after a while confirmed in his rights. The parliamentary party, in fact,

The Colonies and the Puritan Revolution.

was too busy with its troubles in England to interfere with government in the colonies. But it adopted the navigation ordinances of 1651, which had, if enforced, a decided influence on their commerce.

Navigation Ordinance of 1651.

In a struggle against a king who laid taxes arbitrarily the English merchants took a leading part, and they had a corresponding influence in the revolutionary government. It was to please them that parliament undertook to make the colonial trade inure to the benefit of English traders. Sporadic laws of the same import had existed for years; but the recent wide growth of the colonies gave them a new significance, and a new law was made. It provided: (1) that no goods produced in Asia, Africa, or America, including the colonies, should be brought into any British port in any but English owned and manned ships; (2) that no European goods should be taken to England or the British possessions in any but English ships or in the ships of the country in which the goods were produced; (3) the coasting trade in British dominions should be limited to British ships; and (4) no salted fish, oil, or whale products should be brought into the British dominions that were not taken in English ships — nor should they be exported in any but English ships. The plain purport of this law was to limit the English and colonial trade to English channels for the profit of English merchants. The restriction, however, was not enforced. Foreign vessels could not be excluded from colonial ports without efficient police service, and so lax was the execution of the law that we may wonder if it was intended to apply to the colonies.

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CHAPTER V

COLONIAL PROGRESS UNDER THE LATER STUARTS, 1660–1689

Charles II and the Colonies

When called to the throne Charles II was in no position to continue his father's strong policy either at home or in the colonies. He accordingly left the government of the latter *in statu quo*, and was content to increase the means of making them yield to him a revenue. To Connecticut and Rhode Island he gave charters confirming their former liberal institutions, and they were so satisfactory that they served as state constitutions until 1818 and 1842 respectively. The former was also notable in that it united Connecticut and New Haven in one government. For a time the Massachusetts charter seemed in danger of annulment because members of the Anglican church could not vote, but negotiation led to a compromise by which the general court enacted that all persons of property and good character should have the right to vote. But since a regular minister must vouch for an applicant's good character it is likely that the spirit of the law was nearly as restrictive as ever.

New England Colonies Undisturbed.

Virginia and Maryland, loyal enough, had nothing to fear in the nature of constitutional change, but they were powerfully affected by the king's desire for money. Heavy British taxes were levied on tobacco, already selling at ruinously low prices. That which was used in England paid a tax of one shilling, ten pence a pound, and that which was reëxported paid ten and a half pence. At this time a large recent immigration to Virginia and Maryland had raised the supply of tobacco beyond ordinary demands, and this tended to increase the distress of the planters. To discharge his obligations to his courtiers, Charles granted the quitrents and escheats of all Virginia to Lord Arlington and Lord Culpeper for thirty-one years. These hard measures were received with dismay by people to whom Stuart loyalty had been little less than a religion. They became discontented, and violated the navigation acts as freely as the traders of New England.

Virginia and Maryland Burdened.

The influence of the merchants was enough to secure the continuation of the navigation policy of Cromwell. The ordinance of 1651 was reënacted, for the legality of recent parliamentary action was

not granted, and to it was added the important amendment that tobacco, sugar, and other enumerated colonial products destined for a foreign port must first be landed in England, Ireland, or some colony other than that in which they were produced. The significance of this amendment was that no enumerated product could be carried to foreign countries in foreign ships, which meant that foreign ships would not bring their own products to the colonies because they could not get return cargoes. It also meant that colony ships could take enumerated products to British ports alone. The fact that goods from the continent could go to the colonies in British vessels and that colony ships could take goods from the continent to the colonies, led to violation of the law: ships could hardly be expected to make the return voyage in ballast when opportunity of evasion was so easy. To meet the difficulty a new law in 1663 provided that European goods with a few exceptions should only go to the colonies from England in English and colonial ships. The act of 1660 meant that enumerated products should be sold in England, and that of 1663 meant that all colony importations should come from England. The evasions of these laws in the colonies led to a third act, passed in 1673. It required every ship captain loading tobacco, sugar, or other enumerated colonial products either to give bond for landing them in England or to pay stipulated duties on the spot. In this way it was intended to make colonial trade yield profit to the British importers, exporters, and ship owners, as well as to the king's revenues. It was a theory of the time that a colony planted by the mother country and protected by it should in return yield advantages of trade. This policy, in connection with the new system of import duties, was expected to add largely to the king's revenues. It should be remembered, however, that tobacco was the only enumerated article produced in the mainland colonies. The navigation acts did not apply to fish, timber, fur, wheat, pork, beef, and many other exported articles.

The Navigation Acts of 1660, 1663, 1672.

When Charles came to the throne his colonies in America were Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and to these New York, as we have seen, was soon to be added. But there were still vast regions on the coast in which Englishmen had not settled. Out of these unsettled parts Charles created three new colonies, Carolina, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, all proprietary colonies granted to some of the leading noblemen of the court. It was not so much to promote colonization as to advance the interests of the grantees that these colonies were chartered.

New Colonies.

The model of the proprietary colony was the county Palatine of Durham, in England, over which the Bishop of Durham ruled under the king. Whatever the king might do in England, ran the motto of the law, the bishop might do in Durham. But in the proprietary

charters the right of the proprietor was limited by the provision that he must make laws "by and with the consent of the freemen."

The Proprietary Colony.

By this provision these colonies, as well as the others, were able to secure the right to make laws in their own assemblies subject to the veto of the proprietors. Besides the colonies mentioned, New York, after its conquest from the Dutch, and Maryland, from the beginning, were proprietary. This kind of colony was thought to have the advantage of powerful aid from its owners in its early stages; but experience showed that the proprietors were more concerned to make money out of their colonies than to spend it on them. They were, also, not successful in keeping order, having no other military force than they could summon from among the inhabitants themselves. In Carolina this was especially true, and the end of proprietary rule there was a blessing.

In 1629 the king granted Carolana, as he named it, to Sir Robert Heath, but the grant lapsed for want of efforts to people the region granted.

The Carolina Grant.

In 1663 Charles II regranted it to eight nobles, Ashley, Albemarle, Clarendon, John Berkeley, William Berkeley, Carteret, Craven, and Colleton. The bounds were latitude 36° on the north and 31° on the south, and it extended to the Pacific. It was seen on examination that the southern limits of Virginia was latitude 36° 30′, and a new charter issued in 1665 with that line for the northern boundary of Carolina, as it was now called. Thus the region between Virginia and Florida was opened to settlement.

The proprietors had dreams of building a feudal state. Under the guidance of Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury, the fundamental constitutions were prepared by John Locke, then in the early stage of his brilliant career. They provided for a feudal hierarchy, at the bottom of which should be the freemen and at the top three ranks of high landed lords with overwhelming power in political affairs. The system was highly theoretical, and the proprietors did not expect it to be in force at once. It was sent out to their agents with instructions to put into force as much of it as possible. The agents published it and the Carolina assemblies possibly gave it formal recognition, but the system was never in actual use, and very few of the landgravers and caciques, the higher ranks of nobility provided for, were appointed in Carolina.

The Fundamental Constitutions.

Meanwhile, the ordinary forces of frontier life were carrying population to Carolina. As early as 1654 men from Virginia had taken land on the northern shore of Albemarle Sound, first securing grants from the Indians. In 1665 the proprietors sent them a government and authorized an assembly for the "County of Albemarle." From that time a

The Albemarle Settlement.

steady but slow stream of population arrived from Virginia, mostly poor persons who found the frontier more congenial than the aristocratic life on the James. The harbors were bad, and communication with Europe was chiefly through Virginia. The people were mostly dissenters or members of no church. They were intolerant of the attempts of the proprietors to rule them, and there was much commotion throughout the sixty-six years of proprietary rule. It was as democratic a society as was planted on the coast. About 1690 the Albemarle settlements, now expanded to the southward of the Sound, began to be called North Carolina, and at a later period Cape Romaine was fixed as the dividing point between the two Carolinas. Thus the Cape Fear river, its only good means of access to the sea, went to the northern province. It had been the scene of a futile attempt at colonization as early as 1664, and from that time remained unsettled until 1725. It had water communication with the interior of the colony, and had the first settlements been placed here, and not in the isolated northeastern corner, it seems certain that the early history of North Carolina would have been different.

North Carolina.

In 1670 Charleston was settled by an expedition under William Sayle. It grew steadily from the beginning, although it received little aid from the proprietors beyond the first cost of transportation to America. In 1680 French Huguenots began to arrive, settling chiefly on the Santee river. The fertile soil and mild climate of the two Carolinas proved very advantageous to the settlers, who, following the custom in other colonies, placed themselves along the navigable streams, where the bottom lands were richest. The people enjoyed abundance, and in South Carolina men of business ability among the colonists made fortunes easily. Their emergence out of the mass of "adventurers" was facilitated by the easy access to markets and the early introduction of slaves as a cheap and permanent labor supply. About 1693 rice began to be raised with profit. It was a staple product, commanding a ready market in all parts of Europe, and it played the part in South Carolina that tobacco played in Virginia and Maryland. The Albemarle settlers did not raise either rice or tobacco in considerable quantities.

South Carolina Settled.

The English conquest of New Netherland did not bring with it as much liberal government as the English living under the Dutch régime had expected. The Duke of York by his patent from the king was constituted lord proprietor with power almost absolute. He, however, dared not lay taxes and give orders arbitrarily, lest his subjects be forced into rebellion. His representative in the colony was Colonel Richard Nicolls, the governor, an astute man whose tact did much to make the rule of the proprietor bearable. He had promised the

The "Duke's Laws."

people of Long Island self-government, and to redeem his promise in form published the "Duke's Laws," as they were called. They allowed the popular election of local constables and overseers, but made them accountable to the governor, and they provided for trial by jury. More important still, the judges were to be appointed by the governor, and to them, sitting in one body, or assize, was intrusted the law-making function, subject to the approval of the governor. This system, which fell far short of representative government, was soon extended to the entire colony. It did not satisfy the people, but it was better than the Dutch rule, and the tact of Governor Nicolls did much to lull the popular discontent. He returned to England in 1668.

In 1672 England began a war with Holland, and the next year the Dutch appeared before New York with 23 ships and 1200 men. The governor was absent in New England, and his representative, without an adequate force to defend the place, surrendered after a feeble resistance in which one Englishman was killed. The old Dutch system of government was reëstablished, and the name of the town of New York was changed to New Orange. But when peace was made in 1674 New York was restored to England, and the king issued a new charter granting it to the Duke of York, who in turn reissued "the Duke's Laws." At this time Edmund Andros became governor, and ruled until he was succeeded in 1681 by Thomas Dongan. Both men were loyal servants of the proprietor and administered the government successfully. But the people continued to ask for an elective assembly. To their request the duke turned a deaf ear, saying that assemblies were dangerous things and often disturbing to good government. Under his direction the seat of power was the governor and council, who made the appointments and constituted a narrow and powerful aristocracy.

New York conquered by the Dutch but restored to England.

The advocates of liberal government gained steadily in power, and in 1681 their opportunity came. While Governor Andros was in England to answer charges against his official conduct, the merchants, seizing on a technicality, refused to pay the duties he had imposed as the representative of the Duke. A strong petition was sent to England praying that New York might be governed as other colonies by a governor, council, and assembly, and urging that no duties ought to be taken without the consent of the representatives of the people. The proprietor was sensibly touched by the failure of revenue, and 1682 granted the petition but with notable restrictions. The assembly was to meet and be dissolved at the order of the governor, the revenue raised should be at the disposal of the proprietor, and all laws must be approved by governor and proprietor. Under this system, the first assembly of New York met in 1683. Fifteen of its acts are preserved. One of

Struggle for an Assembly.

them, known as the "Charter of Liberties," established the authority of the assembly, guaranteed triennial sessions, and provided for freedom of conscience and the popular assent to taxes. The whole fifteen seem to have been approved at first by the Duke of York, but before they were registered he became James II, and New York became a royal province. The laws now went before the Committee of Trade, which found that the "Charter of Liberties" asserted too definitely the right of the assembly to govern the colony. In fact, at that time there was in England a tendency to reduce the powers of colonial assemblies; and since James II as king did not need his colonial revenue, the "charter" was disallowed. When Governor Dongan in 1686 received a new commission, being now a royal governor, he was authorized to make the laws for the colony. Thus ended for the Stuart period the progress of liberal government in New York.

Settlement of New Jersey.

In 1664, the year New York was granted to the Duke, that part of it which now comprises New Jersey was by the grantee transferred to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret and called New Jersey, from the Island of Jersey, which Carteret had bravely defended during the Puritan wars. The governor of New York protested in the name of his superior that the grant only passed title to the land, but Berkeley and Carteret insisted that it conferred on them the rights of government as well, and they proceeded to organize the government of New Jersey, with a governor, council, assembly, and local officers. The dispute was finally settled in their favor. Some settlers were already within the colony, Dutch and English, and more came. Among them were many New England men who brought in the democratic spirit of their former homes. At length the two proprietors divided their holding. Then Berkeley sold his share, the western part, to four prominent Quakers, among them William Penn. In 1682 East Jersey was purchased by Quakers from the Carteret heirs, and soon after a small remnant was acquired from Fenwick, who held by a previous grant from Berkeley. Thus the two Jerseys became Quaker colonies. In the eastern part the settlers were chiefly New Englanders, in the western part they were Quakers. Both sections enjoyed religious liberty and prospered under a liberal form of government.

East and West Jersey.

Penn's Charter.

But William Penn was not satisfied with a colony depending so largely on charters badly defined, and in 1681 he secured from King Charles a patent for Pennsylvania, west of the Delaware, and made plans to build a commonwealth on Quaker principles. The name was given by the king himself, much to the chagrin of Penn, who wished to avoid a semblance of vanity. The grant was evidently to satisfy the king's debt to Penn's father, who had been a British admiral. It gave Penn, the sole proprietor, ample power to devise a government. But recent

experiences had taught the king that a colony was capable of becoming quite an independent affair, and it was provided that the Pennsylvania laws be submitted to the king, that the navigation acts be enforced, and that the supremacy of Parliament be recognized.

Penn's terms to attract colonists were liberal. To those Englishmen, Swedes, and Dutchmen who were already in the region ceded he offered assurances of protection, and in 1681 he sent them a governor. In England he himself was ceaselessly active in measures to attract immigrants. His position among the Quakers was such that his invitation must be heard. It was sent forth with persuasive charms. Let all thrifty men, he said, who wished to establish prosperous homes in a new land and all who would live in just equality with their neighbors come to Pennsylvania. No religious discrimination should be made against any man who acknowledged the existence of God, but only Christians could take part in government. His ideas of good government were embodied in a published "Frame of Government." "Any government," he said, "is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." To an age keenly alive to the dangers of the doctrine of divine right of kings this must have been a voice of comfort.

Proposals to Settlers.

In 1682 Penn himself arrived in Pennsylvania, accompanied by about one hundred colonists. In 1682 he had acquired what is now Delaware from the Duke of York, in order that his colony might have sea front; and he first visited the settlements already planted about New Castle. Having confirmed the government of the three "Lower Counties," *i.e.* Delaware, he went on to Philadelphia, the site of which had already been selected under his directions at the confluence of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers. Its broad streets, at right angles with one another, gave the place an air of dignity which long impressed visitors. It was Penn's desire that each dwelling should be in the center of a garden in order that Philadelphia might be "a green country town, which will never be burned and always be wholesome." He gave careful supervision to all that pertained to the colony, and said in seven years, "with the help of God," Pennsylvania would equal her neighbors in population. The boast was not too large, for immigrants came in large numbers, and in three years the population exceeded eight thousand.

Arrival of Penn.

Penn's benevolence was seen in his policy toward the natives. He took no land without making treaties in which he gave articles of value to the savages. One treaty, in June, 1683, probably at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, became famous, and tradition long referred to the "Treaty Elm" under which it was made. The result of this policy was uninterrupted peace

Penn and the Indians.

with the Indians of eastern Pennsylvania. It was supported by the sobriety of the inhabitants and by the absence of frontier land squatters who occasioned most of the Indian wars in other colonies.

Penn's "Frame of Government" provided for a council of 72 members and an assembly of 200, all elected by the freeholders. Like the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, it was drawn for a large colony and without reference to actual conditions in a new country. Penn did not attempt to put it into operation. His first assembly, which met in December, 1682, consisted of a council of eighteen members and a lower house of 54, all elected by the settlers. To this body he gave the privilege of preparing the government of the colony, with the result that a "Great Charter" was enacted by the assembly, April 8, 1683, in which all the functions of government were provided for by the representatives of the people. Penn accepted it, for he wished for nothing more than that men should govern themselves in their own way, but in a spirit of enlightened benevolence. However, his personal influence had much to do with the form of government adopted. Another measure of this first assembly was to incorporate the Lower Counties with Pennsylvania. It was action very objectionable to the people of the Counties themselves, and they soon began an agitation which resulted, early in the next century, in their separation as a distinct colony though still under the governor appointed by Penn for Pennsylvania.

Self-Government in Pennsylvania.

Delaware.

Meanwhile, Penn was called to England, partly to relieve his distressed brethren through his personal influence with the Duke of York and partly to arrange a boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore. In the first instance he was easily successful; for 1200 Quakers were released from prison through his intercessions. In the second he was also successful, but it was many years before the victory was secured. The controversy with Lord Baltimore goes back to the grant of 1681, which undoubtedly included within Pennsylvania lands Charles I had granted to Maryland. The fortieth parallel of latitude marked Maryland's northern boundary by the charter of 1632; but Penn's charter provided that his southern line should begin with a semicircle with a radius of twelve miles from New Castle and proceed westward on the fortieth parallel from the point at which the semicircle cut that parallel. On investigation it was found that New Castle was 20 miles south of the fortieth parallel, and if the semicircle were drawn as described, it would leave a broad strip of Maryland in the new colony. Penn argued his rights against Baltimore, but could not settle the dispute. The latter naturally held to his rights under a grant previous to 1681; but Penn, who was bent on having an outlet to the sea, would not relent, and the dispute

Penn Returns to England.

The Penn-Baltimore Boundary Controversy.

was continued by the two men and their heirs until 1760. In that year the present boundary was agreed upon, and in 1767 it was run by Mason and Dixon.

Even more annoying was the controversy for the possession of Delaware. All the colony was within the bounds of the Maryland patent, but the Duke of York claimed it by the conquest of the Dutch, and Baltimore did not dispute the claim. When, however, the Duke transferred Delaware to Penn the Maryland proprietor asserted his rights and seemed about to prevent the confirmation of the Duke's grant when Penn returned to England, 1684. The influence of the Quaker proved sufficient for his cause, and in 1685 his right to Delaware was recognized by the Lords of Trade. His wonderful influence with James, now become king, was the despair of his enemies, who started the report, widely believed at the time, that Penn was in reality a Jesuit. He came under suspicion when James was driven out, was arrested, and for a time, 1692–1694, his colony was taken from him. He easily cleared himself of the charges and was restored to his rights. In England many misfortunes beset him. Chief among them was the news that the colonists were wrangling over the powers of government. After many gentle remonstrances he himself came back in 1699, and for five years modified by his presence the strife which is, perhaps, inherent in a democracy such as he had created. Spite of the divisions the colony grew rapidly in numbers and wealth.

Penn gets Clear Title to Delaware.

His Second Visit to Pennsylvania.

The Stuart Reaction

The Cromwellian period in Maryland history, so full of political and military combat, was succeeded by an interval of quiet. Each side had learned something in the conflict. The proprietor, who easily secured the recognition of his rights from Charles II, knew well that turmoil interfered with industry and consequently lessened his income. The people longed for peace. The toleration act of 1649, made to meet an exigency of the time, remained a permanent result of the late conflict, and for a time Catholics and Protestants lived together amicably.

Maryland at Peace.

Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, died in 1675. Under him the colony was founded, and his tactfulness had brought it through many dangers. His son and successor, Charles, governor from 1661–1675, was a man of downright convictions, and knew not his father's art of compromising. Like other English noblemen of the day he wished to use political power for the benefit of his family and dependents. What Charles II did in England, what the Duke of York did in New York, and what Berkeley did in Virginia, Charles Calvert, as governor and as pro-

Ideals of Charles Calvert.

prietor, sought to do in Maryland. Through him the offices were filled with kinsmen, the suffrage was limited to freeholders, and only half of the members-elect were summoned to the assembly. This policy awakened the old spirit of resistance, and in 1676, while Lord Baltimore was absent, a band of sixty, incited by Bacon's example in Virginia, gathered to overthrow the proprietary government. The governor seized and hanged the popular leaders, Davis and Pate, and the rebellion collapsed.

But the spirit of discontent did not disappear. The absence of Baltimore in order to oppose Penn's efforts in England gave opportunity to its growth. Eventually he fell into a dispute with the collectors of the royal revenues in Maryland and the king took the side of his own officers. Most important of all, the struggle was given a religious cast. The accession of James II, a Catholic sovereign, in 1685 accentuated this phase of the controversy. When the royal prince, called the "Old Pretender" by most Protestants, was born, he was proclaimed in Maryland by the proprietary governor with impolitic fervor. The Protestants, through the progress of immigration many times as numerous as the Catholics, were ready for revolt. Then came news that William of Orange had landed in England. No longer restrained, they formed under the lead of John Corde and others an Association for the Defense of the Protestant Religion. They seized St. Mary's, the seat of government, dispersed the Catholic bands who met to resist them, sent a loyal address to William and Mary, and held an assembly in which representation was on a popular basis. The new sovereign of England accepted the revolution in Maryland, which then became a royal province. In 1715 a Protestant succeeded to the Baltimore title and was restored to his full rights in Maryland, which from that time until the revolution was a proprietary colony.

Revolution in Maryland.

For sixteen years after the Restoration political authority in Virginia was the will of Governor William Berkeley. As Charles II prolonged his own supremacy by maintaining the "Cavalier Parliament" for seventeen years, so Berkeley in Virginia kept alive for fourteen years the assembly chosen in 1661 in the height of enthusiasm for the Stuarts. By this means, by nominating his own councillors, and by making other appointments judiciously, he concentrated the authority in the hands of a small group of wealthy planters who depended on his own favor. Meanwhile, the price of tobacco had steadily fallen, due partly to the navigation acts and partly to over-production. Virginia had no other money crop, and naturally exploited that to the limit of her capacity. Proposals to limit production had little effect, and there was much suffering. Throughout this period prices of imported merchandise grew higher, the planters fell into debt to the London merchants, and the spirit of hopelessness easily ran into defiance. Berkeley's

Berkeley's Despotism.

system of despotism was the most visible of political evils, and they turned against it as the cause of all their distress.

Bacon's Rebellion.

The occasion of the outbreak was an Indian war. Within recent years the march of settlement had reached the Potomac valley, which alarmed the Indians in that region. They foresaw the end of their hunting grounds, and their murmuring created apprehension in the minds of the settlers. In 1675 the savages killed two planters on the Potomac, and the whites replied by killing the murderers and several other Indians. Reprisals were made by the red men, and soon the frontier was harrowed from end to end. Then the Susquehannocks rose in January, 1676, and killed thirty-six whites. The settlers fled from the border, and called on the governor for protection. He ordered a body of militia to the scene of danger, but recalled it before it had well started. His opponents claimed that he derived profits from the Indian trade, and on that account wished to avoid a war.

Bacon assumes Leadership.

The assembly met in March, 1676, and proposed to build forts in the Indian country. The people objected that this only meant higher taxes. What they wished was a vigorous campaign to break the power of the Indians effectively. To their petitions of this purport Berkeley returned an angry reproof and the people began to raise troops on their own account. They found an excellent leader in Nathaniel Bacon. His fervid speeches had ample foundation in the condition of the colony, and he was shortly at the head of three hundred men, with his face set toward the frontier. To Berkeley this was treason, and he promptly said so in a proclamation. Two hundred and forty of Bacon's men then went home, but he marched on with the rest, and in a bloody action killed one hundred and fifty Indians.

Movement becomes Political.

Meanwhile, the movement took on the form of open resistance to the existing régime. People were gathering with arms in their hands, and demanding a new assembly chosen by the freemen. In panic Berkeley promised all that was asked, and even pardoned Bacon and restored him to the Council. In the new assembly a number of reforms were adopted which must have been as gall to the power-loving governor. The reformers did not trust the governor, and wished their leader to be commander-in-chief of the militia, probably as a guarantee that the governor would not repudiate his promises. They claimed that the command had been promised, and when it was not given a violent quarrel arose. Bacon was impetuous, and ended by collecting five hundred armed men, with whom he overawed Berkeley and forced him to issue a commission to operate against the Indians. Then the army marched away to the scene of war. As soon as they were gone, the governor repudiated what he had done and called on the people to aid him in suppressing the "rebels." There was

no response to his call, and he fled to Accomac County beyond Chesapeake Bay.

The struggle thus became a real attempt at revolution. Bacon had begun as a reformer. If he now yielded, all his work was for naught. Being an aggressive man, he determined to accept the challenge and fight it out with the governor. His influence over his followers was great enough to carry many of them with him, but many others fell away and chose to follow Berkeley, who was able to return to Jamestown with six hundred men. Bacon was soon upon him, besieged the town, and forced the governor to take flight. The struggle was now a social one, the mass of poor and moderately well-to-do people supported the revolt, and the great planters generally were for the old order. While he constructed his lines before the capital, Bacon forced the wives and daughters of many of his enemies to stand before his works to avert the fire of the governor's soldiers. When Jamestown fell he burned it lest it should again offer asylum to his enemies. All this happened during the summer and early autumn of 1676. What else would have come is only to be guessed; for Bacon died October 26 of a fever contracted through exposure, and his cause collapsed. Berkeley came back to Jamestown, harried out the remnant of the rebels who had taken refuge in the swamps, and although the king had promised amnesty to those who submitted, hanged thirteen as a warning to those who defied his authority. To the captured William Drummond, who, before he joined Bacon, had been governor of Albemarle, probably through Berkeley's selection, the governor said in greeting him: "Mr. Drummond, you are welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." To which the prisoner replied: "As your honor pleases," and he was led away to the scaffold.

Rebellion Full-Fledged.

Death of Bacon.

News of these commotions had ere this reached England, and the king had already dispatched a force of one thousand men under three commissioners to pacify Virginia. Berkeley's high proceedings were well known in England, and the knowledge was reflected in the instructions of the commissioners. Amnesty was offered to all rebels who would submit, and Jeffreys, one of the three, was to succeed Berkeley as governor. They found Berkeley supreme and defiant. His powerful family influence in England made it unwise to arrest him, and there was a period of angry wrangling, at the end of which the irritable old man embarked of his own motion. Arrived at London, he learned that the king would not see him. It was the last straw for a body and mind already tottering under the weight of years, and he died in a few months, July, 1677. He had in his day been a stout-hearted defender of the royal authority, a friend of the Established Church, and a worthy leader of the

Settlement of Difficulties.

well-born Virginia gentry. His ideals were of great account in a day when democracy was in its cruder stages of development. His often quoted words on education in Virginia express the ideals of his class. "I thank God," he said, "there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged [them] and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

Berkeley's Ideals.

Bacon's Rebellion shows that Virginia society had gone beyond this ideal, and the royal commissioners recognized the fact. They called for free expressions of grievances with the result that a "charter" of privileges was granted by the king in which important reforms in local government were included. In 1679 Lord Culpeper arrived as governor. He was in need of money, and proceeded to get it by increasing the fees, requiring "presents" in money from outgoing ship captains, and other similar measures. It was at this time that lawless bands of tobacco planters began to destroy the growing crops to relieve the over-production which produced low prices. In 1684 Culpeper was succeeded as governor by Lord Howard of Effingham, who was in no sense a better ruler than Culpeper. Thus passed the years until the end of the Stuart dynasty, years full of commotion, in which the Virginia spirit of self-government slowly rose against the power of a governor appointed by the king but bent on nothing so much as his own advantage. It took many years of such experience to change the most royal of the colonies into an out-and-out home of revolution; but the process went steadily on.

Culpeper's Rapacity.

The Colonies under the Later Stuarts, 1660–1689

Charles II did not like the Puritan colonies, but he did not wish the trouble of abolishing them. It was easier to give charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island, to wink at the compromise by which Massachusetts seemed to give the suffrage to members of the English Church, and to take what revenue came from the New England trade, than to risk war with the colonists as a result of suppressing the charter. Thus the years passed, for a time in safety for the New Englanders, while their fellow dissenters in England suffered from a high church reaction. When trouble at last came it was through the initiation of his over-zealous officers rather than through the will of the good-natured king.

New England.

A more serious peril was the attitude of the Indians. The steady extension of the settlements from the seashore inward showed them that their hunting grounds were in danger, and they came together in common defense under Philip, son of Massasoit, the Wampanoag, long the friend and stay of Plymouth colony. The war began in the summer of 1675

King Philip's War.

with the usual outrages on the frontier, in which retaliation and pitiless slaughter played their parts. Knowing the habits of the whites, the Indians fell on them suddenly with bloody results. The Nipmucks, in western Connecticut and Massachusetts, joined in the struggle, and the river towns were ravaged. Then the Narragansetts appeared about to join the belligerents; and the whites, without waiting for open hostilities, fell on them in a fort in what is now Kingston, Rhode Island, and crushed effectually their military power. But the struggle went on more bitterly than ever, the whites fighting for life persistently and steadily. After some months their superior organization began to tell. Canonchet, king of the Narragansetts, was run down and slain in April, 1676. A month later one hundred and twenty warriors were killed in a battle on the Connecticut, and August 12, 1676, Philip himself fell at the hands of Colonel Church, a noted Indian fighter. Through nearly two years' fighting the colonists lost severely in life and property. Their homes were ruined, their crops destroyed, and famine was avoided only by importing grain from Virginia. But the power of the Indians was broken, and thenceforth the settlers might plant in safety in the interior. The most permanent effect of the struggle was the damage inflicted on the beaver trade. Driving back the Indians inevitably limited the area of its operation. In this struggle all the New England colonies suffered indiscriminately, and all united in the measures of defense.

Massachusetts Charter Threatened.

The wounds of war were not healed before Massachusetts realized that serious efforts were to be made to annul the liberal charter under which she enjoyed self-government. The attack would doubtless be of a legal nature, the charge being made that the charter should be forfeited because the colony had, among other things, harbored some of the regicides, evaded the king's orders in regard to a broader suffrage, denied the right of appeal to England, shown a spirit of indifference to the royal authorities in regard to the appointment of agents in England, and continually evaded the navigation acts. In 1676 Edward Randolph visited Boston as a "messenger" with a letter from the king to the authorities. He was privately instructed to ascertain in what respect the colony laws were against those of England and to report on religious conditions, the execution of the navigation acts, and the numbers and strength of the colonists. He was a shrewd observer, and was prejudiced against the Puritans. His report was very unfavorable to the colony, but for a time nothing was done.

In 1678, however, Randolph was appointed collector of the customs for New England and took up his residence in Boston with the design of breaking up smuggling, which was widespread. His numerous complaints sent to England all proceeded from the conclusion that the only way to enforce the acts of trade was for the king to take the charter colonies into his own hands and appoint officers who

would support the collector. Charles II wanted little urging on this point; for just at this time he was proceeding against the municipal charters of England. June 12, 1683, he secured from a partial court a verdict against the charter of London, and next day the attorney-general was ordered to take out a writ of *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts Company. Randolph, then in England, was sent back to Boston to serve the writ, a task congenial to his feelings. The Massachusetts authorities retained counsel and determined to contest the suit. Storms intervened, and Randolph could not return the writ within the time set, so that it failed. Rather than go through the process of sending another writ to Boston the attorney-general now sued out in the court of chancery a writ of *scire facias*, which had the virtue of not requiring service in the colony. Under this writ the case came to a speedy hearing, and October 23, 1684, the charter was declared forfeited.

Massachusetts Charter Annulled.

Pleased with his victory, Randolph now marched against the other colonial charters. Pennsylvania alone was saved through the influence of her proprietor; but writs were issued against the charters of Connecticut, Rhode Island, the two Jerseys, and Delaware. Randolph's pockets fairly bulged with *quo warrantos*. But the times were turbulent in England, and murmuring was heard against the king's wholesale destruction of charters. For this, and for other reasons, the writs were not pressed to an issue, and thus the other charter colonies safely outran the Stuart peril.

Other Charters in Danger.

But they came near shipwreck on a scheme for a general consolidation of the colonies north of Delaware Bay. This scheme was devised much earlier than 1684, and only awaited the forfeiture of charters to be put into operation. The result in the Massachusetts case encouraged its promoters to proceed. Without waiting for the results of the processes against the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, they were treated as already annulled, and a governor was appointed to rule over all New England. The man selected for the position by Charles II was the stern Colonel Percy Kirke, who could hardly have failed to create rebellion had he come to rule New England without the aid of an assembly, as his instructions ran. When James II came to the throne the appointment was not completed, and he sent Kirke to deal with the rebels at Taunton and made Edmund Andros governor of New England. Andros's authority extended over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Plymouth. He was to rule without an assembly and with the aid of an appointed council. Rhode Island and Connecticut were frightened into releasing their independence, although the latter concealed its charter and brought it forth in happier days. In 1688 a new commission constituted Andros governor of all the colonies north of Pennsylvania, and to this consolidated

The Dominion of New England.

territory was given the name of the Dominion of New England. Each constituent colony was to become a district in the larger organization and to lose its assembly, but from it were appointed members of the governor's grand council which ruled the Dominion. Over New York Francis Nicholson ruled as deputy governor, but Andros himself supervised the rest of his "dominion." This system, so soon to be overthrown, expressed James II's ideal of colonial government.

During the short time between the fall of the charter and the arrival of Andros, Joseph Dudley was governor of Massachusetts. He was born in the colony, but was now zealous for the royal prerogative. He wished to make the transition in government as easy as possible, but the task was difficult from its very nature. The people were not prepared to resist: they submitted with sullen reluctance. Now came a clergyman of the English Church, for whom Dudley demanded the use of one of the Boston meetinghouses. The demand was steadily refused. After a while it was agreed that the clergyman, Mr. Ratcliffe, should use Mr. Willard's meetinghouse each Sunday, one minister preaching after the other finished and alternately taking the first sermon. But trouble arose because neither would stop at the proper time, and at length Andros seized a lot belonging to the town, and on it was erected King's Chapel. The new régime also gave offense by celebrating Christmas, by requiring persons taking an oath to kiss the Bible instead of holding up the hand, by ordering that school teachers should have licenses from the governor, and by requiring the shops to close on the anniversary of the death of Charles I. All these offenses, however, were surpassed by the extreme zeal with which the governor ordered and celebrated public thanksgivings for the birth of a son to their Catholic majesties in 1688.

Dudley Governor of Massachusetts.

Within its short duration Andros's government showed itself a despotism. He was given the right to make laws, levy taxes, and administer justice. The Council was expected to offer advice, but he so filled it with his instruments that it but reflected his will. When he ordered the collection of the old taxes, no longer legal since the assembly did not exist, some towns refused to pay on the ground that they were assessed illegally. The leading men of Ipswich were arrested, tried before a "special commission," and fined for their resistance. To this practical proof that their liberties were abridged was added the conviction that their property was in danger. By law all the ungranted land in the colonies belonged to the king, and Andros was to dispose of it in his "Dominion," subject to quitrent. He declared that most of the old land grants were worthless, and seemed about to take possession of farms and even village lots. But he at last showed his favor by saying that he would issue regular grants to all whose titles were in question. As he and his officers must have fees for these

Andros's Strong Measures.

grants, the offer was not a disinterested one. Moreover, many choice bits of land were by influential officials declared to be subject to new grants, which showed the people that the new régime was rapacious as well as arbitrary.

But the day of James II was run. November 5, 1688, William of Orange landed in England. December 22 James fled the kingdom, and in February, 1689, Parliament offered the crown to William and Mary. It was a bloodless but complete revolution, not only in dynasty but also in the fundamental theory of government. For the Stuart ideal of divine right was now substituted the supremacy of the people in Parliament. This system could hardly exist in England without having its echo in the colonies. Not only did they seize the opportunity to wipe out, as in New England, all traces of James's recent innovations, but from that time every colonial assembly felt more strongly than ever its right to lay taxes and make laws within its own province. This conviction, slowly developing, precipitated at the close of three-quarters of a century a struggle between mother country and colonies, the real import of which was, Should the colonial assemblies or Parliament govern the colonies?

Parliamentary Government in England and the Colonies.

The news of William's success in England created a profound impression in Massachusetts, where the people were ripe for revolt. In the "Declaration" he issued on landing he said that magistrates unjustly turned out of office should resume their functions. He had in mind the municipalities of England, but the New Englanders took it as referring to the colonies. This "Declaration" was brought to Boston by John Winslow, whom Andros at once arrested. But the news was out, and on April 18, 1689, the people rose in arms, seized and imprisoned Andros, Randolph, and other officials, and proclaimed the restitution of the old government under Bradstreet, the last governor under the charter. They sent a report of their action to their agent in England and asked that they be allowed the old charter. Andros remained a prisoner in Castle William nearly a year, and was then sent to England.

Andros Overthrown.

In New York, where Francis Nicholson ruled as Andros's deputy, affairs were also ripe for revolt. James had placed many Catholics in office in the colony, and this seemed to support the rumor, widely circulated in Massachusetts as well, that he would introduce the Catholic religion in the colonies. Against Nicholson all the Protestant population was ready to act. Disappointment because the colony had not been given an effective assembly also had much to do with the popular discontent. The people found a leader in Jacob Leisler, German by birth, now a prosperous merchant in New York. Nicholson hesitated to proclaim William and Mary, which aroused severe criticism by opponents of

Revolution in New York.

the Stuarts. In May, 1689, a careless remark was twisted by rumor until it was reported that he threatened to burn the town with his own hand. Violent demonstrations followed, and the deputy governor fled to England, leaving the government to three councillors, Phillips, Cortlandt, and Bayard. Leisler now came to the front. At the head of the popular party, he disregarded the councillors, and called a convention of delegates from the counties. This body met and appointed Leisler commander-in-chief of the province, with large powers of government. For two turbulent years he was in control of the province.

The Revolution in Other Colonies.

In Maryland, as we have seen (page 91), the expulsion of the Stuarts from England was followed by Corde's Rebellion, thus making it the third colony in which force was used to bring about the recognition of William and Mary. In the other colonies the transition occurred peaceably. Rhode Island and Connecticut resumed their charters and were allowed the privilege on the ground that the charters had never been repealed or surrendered. Massachusetts was allowed to retain Maine, but New Hampshire, recognized as a royal colony in 1679 but made a part of the Dominion of New England in 1686, now became a royal province once more. Commotions at once appeared, and in 1699 the province was placed under the supervision of the governor of Massachusetts. It was not until 1741 that it again had a distinct governor, although a lieutenant governor generally ruled during the interval. New Jersey was allowed to return to her proprietors until 1702, when she also became a royal province. In the rearrangement Plymouth became a part of Massachusetts. Thus was distributed all the territory which had been placed under the authority of Andros. Virginia and the Carolinas were not materially affected by the revolution, and Pennsylvania, including Delaware, while inwardly tranquil, was taken from the hands of the proprietor in 1692 on the charge that he was a Jacobite, but restored in 1694, when his innocence had been made apparent.

New Massachusetts charter.

In Massachusetts the renewal of the old charter was desired by a portion of the people, while others thought it a good opportunity to get a self-governing system like that of Connecticut. Each side had its representatives in England, but neither won. The charter of 1691 was largely due to the influence of Edward Randolph, just arrived in London out of captivity in Boston. By it Massachusetts became a royal province with a governor appointed by the king, an assembly elected by property-holders, and a council, not appointed by the king as elsewhere, but nominated by the assembly and approved by the governor. In ordinary matters the approval of laws was left to the governor, though the king reserved the right of sanction to certain special affairs. The Puritan party was dealt a severe but expected blow in the provision for liberty of conscience for all Protestants.

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CHAPTER VI

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1690–1763

Development of the Colonial Conflict

Our colonial history proceeds in two currents, one English and one American. The beginning of each is somewhat confused because each began without plan and according to special conditions. But by 1690 each current has become more distinct. We can now see what England is doing for the colonies and how the latter, though widely differing in surroundings, begin to have common experiences and interests.

The English colonial policy under the later Stuarts looked to absolute government, through a governor and council and without the aid of an assembly. The revolution of 1689 checked this plan and the colonial system henceforth contained the following general features: 1. A desire to make the royal provinces uniform in the colonies; 2. An absence of parliamentary control, the colonies being under supreme authority of the king, who established the charters, appointed the high officers, and passed on colonial laws; 3. The navigation acts, designed to benefit English merchants and ship owners, who made up a strong part of the support of government. These acts were enforced by collectors and admiralty courts created by the king and distinct from the ordinary colonial officials, with whom they were sometimes in violent quarrel. 4. The maintenance of effective imperial control through the royal officials. The governor of a province was expected to guard the interests of the crown, resist encroachments of authority by the colonial assembly, and by influence over the colonial gentry to create, if possible, a party of king's friends among the inhabitants. Some of the governors performed the last of these tasks successfully, notably William Tryon, but others, like Andros, Nicholson, and Bellomont, were tactless and irascible and were continually at variance with the colonists. 5. The growing interference of Parliament in colonial affairs. This began with the passage of the acts of trade, many times amended or defined, but it extended to the regulation of money, the protection of British creditors against loss in the colonies, the establishment of post offices, and other matters related to trade. From this position it was not far for Parliament to advance when it later decided to tax the colonists directly.

Principles of the English Colonial Policy.

This system grew up under men of experience who believed it gave the best results to all concerned. To the colonies England gave protection against other powers, and even against the Indians in extreme cases. From her they received their lands, their laws, and their very existence. Was it too much to expect they should contribute something in return to support the trade and maintain the glory of England? And if this be granted, was it not reasonable that such a system of administration be preserved that the colonies should not forget filial duty or question parental authority? To all of which the colonies had the plain answer that they acted in their own interests, as was the right of Englishmen.

The English Ideal.

In 1690 the population of the colonies was about 220,000, most of them agriculturists. Wherever they lived they had the same interests in relation to England. Every colony had a legislature, New York having won that long demanded favor with the triumph of William and Mary. This body became instinctively the guardian of the interests of the colony, and it was in continual opposition to the royal officials. As it became more inclined to assert colonial rights of self-government, the crown became more willing to resist. To each side the action of the other seemed aggressive, and it was resisted by all the arts known to able politicians. In this long struggle, from which no colony was exempt, the causes of dispute vary. Sometimes it is the payment of salaries to the governor, at other times quitrents, or land sales, or the issue of paper money; but the struggle is always fundamentally the same, and it leads to the same end. This struggle was also an important training school for colonial leaders. It not only formed parties, ready at the proper time for the work of revolution, but it developed the men who led them.

The Colonies' Side.

During the period now under consideration three wars between England and France had their reactions in America. They brought the Canadian Indians down on the English frontiers, forced the colonists to fight in defense of their homes, and even led them to make expeditions for the conquest of parts of Canada. All this gave the people confidence in their ability to defend their country, trained men and officers to military duty, and developed the spirit of union in a common cause. Hardly a colonial assembly but shows a firmer grip on the political life of its colony through having raised its contingents for the wars; for here, as in England, before money was voted grievances must be redressed. A governor who wished to get his colonial assembly to raise troops for the Canadian frontier could not afford to quarrel with that assembly.

Influence of the French and Indian Wars.

But it must not be supposed that the party strife in the colonies measured the state of their happiness. It was an era of great industrial development. In 1689 the frontier line from Maine to the

Savannah river followed the coast generally at not more than fifty miles distance. In 1760 settlers had penetrated into all parts of New England, and all of the South from Florida to New York westward as far as the Alleghanies — which barrier, indeed, had been crossed by the most daring ones. In New York alone the frontier had not been moved westward; and here it was the presence of the Iroquois in the Mohawk valley, allies of the English and useful in operations against the French and Algonquins, that kept the whites from some of the richest land on the continent. Throughout the settlements plenty prevailed, land was cheap, and no man who worked need fear want; large families were the rule, and no parent was anxious lest there should be no opportunity for his children. Under such conditions population increased rapidly, by birth and through immigration. In 1690 it was about 220,000, and in 1760 it reached 1,500,000.

Progress of Settlements, 1690–1760.

Typical Colonial Controversies

This narrative cannot deal with the political struggles of all the colonies. Interesting as the stories would be they lead to one end, the evolution of a colonial party; and in the royal provinces the common keynote of the contests is opposition to royal prerogative. In the proprietary colonies it is resistance to the will of the proprietor, and in the liberally chartered colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island its traces are found in the common opposition to the British laws relating to trade. Everywhere the spirit of self-government is apparent. What the parliament was to England the assembly under the restrictions of its charter aspired to be to the colony. If we consider some of the more notable controversies, we shall see in what manner they looked forward to the ultimate assertion of independence.

Development of Colonial Parties.

Governor Phips, the first royal governor of Massachusetts, opened a long quarrel with the assembly when he published his instructions from the king directing him to get the assembly to vote a permanent appropriation for the salaries of the governor and other officials appointed by the crown. For the assembly to comply was to relinquish its best source of power, and the request was ignored. On the contrary, bills assertive of fundamental rights and laws establishing courts were passed, all of which were vetoed in England. This only confirmed the assembly in its determination to keep a firm hand on the purse-strings. Phips urged the lawmakers to vote a regular salary, but they would only give 500 pounds for services already rendered. To Bellomont, his successor by royal appointment, they gave 1000 pounds for two years' service. This way of granting money after the completion of a given

Colonial Controversies.

The Governor's Salary in Massachusetts.

time was thought to be useful in keeping the governor friendly to the colony. In 1702 Joseph Dudley became governor, and ruled fourteen years. He tried in vain to relieve himself from the necessity of taking his remuneration at the discretion of the assembly. At the end of his term of office they had voted him 6950 pounds. In asserting his right to veto acts of assembly he disallowed the election, as speaker, of Thomas Oakes, one of the most astute leaders of the opposition. He claimed that such an election was in the nature of an act of the legislature. A bitter controversy arose, and continued until, in 1725, in a so-called explanatory charter, the king ordered that the election of speaker should be subject to the governor's approval. The assembly thought it expedient to accept the restriction. The salary controversy, continued under Shute (1716–1728), came to a climax under Burnet (1728–1729). He was instructed to insist on a regular salary of at least 1000 pounds, and the assembly was told that if it were not granted the charter would be in danger. The reply of the colony was to offer the governor 1700 pounds as a gift, but he was forced to decline it, even when the sum was raised to 3000 pounds. The controversy now became warm, but in the midst of it Burnet came to his death from the oversetting of his carriage in the water, and the assembly showed its favor by voting 2000 pounds to his children. Under Governor Belcher, his successor, the dispute was compromised, 1731, when the assembly came to vote the governor's salary annually, but at the beginning and not at the end of each year. New York and South Carolina in the eighteenth century began to grant the governor's salary year by year, and spite of the protests of the Board of Trade the custom was maintained. In Virginia and the Carolinas the salaries were provided for in general taxes, which did not depend on the annual votes of the assemblies.

The Assembly and Money Bills.

Closely connected with this controversy was the claim made by most of the assemblies that they, like the English House of Commons, had the sole right to initiate money bills. The Council, usually appointed by the king, had the right to approve all bills, and this made it an upper chamber of the legislature. It usually supported the governor and warred against the assembly. The latter body, by insisting on its control over money bills, assumed a position of superiority, and its good will was so necessary to the success of any governor's administration that it finally won the recognition of its claim.

Leisler in New York.

In New York the legislative controversy was also prominent, and here it was concerned with money bills in general. The failure of the legislature of 1683 was resented by the people, and Leisler recognized the fact by calling an assembly. It authorized him to act in the emergency, and the flight of Nicholson left him in supreme power. The council resented his assumption of authority, and he drove them from his presence as persons "Popishly

affected, Dogs and Rogues." For him, a man of the people, the aristocratic councillors had no tolerance; and he returned their contempt with interest. But he was a popular leader and kept a semblance of order in the turbulent population of Manhattan. Having proclaimed William and Mary he expected some recognition of his services; but his sovereigns ignored him and appointed Henry Sloughter governor. They also sent to New York a body of troops under Ingoldesby with instructions to restore order. Ingoldesby arrived before the new governor landed and demanded the surrender of the fort. He showed no written orders, and Leisler refused to yield. Then Sloughter came and demanded the delivery of the fort, also without showing his authority. After some hesitation Leisler retired. He was arrested for treason, tried by a special court over which Joseph Dudley presided, sentenced to death, and executed. Tradition has it that Sloughter signed the death warrant while drunk. Be that as it may, Sloughter died a few weeks afterwards, a victim of inebriety. Leisler had his faults, but he did not deserve death, and leaving him a victim to hatred of his enemies is a blot on the reputation of the British government.

Struggle for an Assembly in New York.

Sloughter was instructed to summon an assembly "according to the usage" of the other colonies. He and his successors took this to mean that they might at will summon, prorogue, dissolve, and apportion the membership of the lawmaking body. An obedient assembly was thus kept long in power, in one case for eleven years. But not many assemblies were obedient, and one of their most common protests was to demand frequent elections. Their persistence won a measure of success in 1743, when a colonial law was approved by the king, making it necessary to have a new election once in seven years.

The Control of Money Votes in New York.

In 1692 the New York assembly began a long controversy over the right to vote money. A committee was appointed to investigate the expenditure of money in support of frontier defense. Its real business was to see if the governor, whose salary the assembly would not vote in a regular way, was not making up the deficiency by diverting to his own use some of the funds appropriated to support the garrison. The committee could do nothing because the governor did not allow them to see the muster-rolls and accounts. The next assembly (1694) was determined to have its way, and resolved that it would do no business until it had inspected the accounts. Governor Fletcher demurred for a while, but at last sent them the books of the receiver-general. From this time forward the assembly regularly inspected the accounts and might know how the money it had appropriated was spent.

In 1702–1708 Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, was New York's governor. Without public or private morals, he left a stain on the governorship blacker than was left by any predecessor or successor. He

was cousin-german of Queen Anne, whom he resembled, and was said to have appeared in woman's clothes to show colonial society what the queen looked like. The assembly voted money to fortify the harbor of New York, but at the next session it appeared that he had diverted most of it to his own use, although he had been voted a present of 2000 pounds to pay the expenses of coming to his post. The deed was possible because all money hitherto voted was to the king to be used for the province, and once it was in the hands of a royal official it might be taken for governor's salary or any other purpose authorized by the king. Preceding governors had followed this practice, but not so flagrantly, and the assembly seized the opportunity to check it. A resolution passed to vote no more money except such as was paid out by a treasurer appointed by the assembly and responsible to it. The position was so reasonable that the authorities in England approved it so far as extraordinary grants went. After that the assembly assumed that most appropriations were extraordinary.

Cornbury in New York.

A Colonial Treasurer.

Nor was the Quaker Commonwealth free from controversy. Penn's humane ideals never failed him, but they were better suited for an infant community than for the large province he soon had on his hands. So many reports of dissension reached him that in 1699 he returned to Philadelphia, hoping, he said, to end his days there. He found the people divided. Quary, surveyor-general of the royal revenue, complained that the navigation laws were not enforced, the people complained that the proprietor did not develop the colony or keep his promises in granting lands, while the proprietor could reply that the people did not pay quit-rents and that the colony itself had impoverished its owner. More than all, the three counties which became Delaware were in dispute over their rights in the colonial assembly. To all the malcontents Penn made earnest pleas for moderation. The upshot was "The Charter of Privileges," passed by the assembly and council and approved by Penn in 1701 on the eve of his departure for England, whither he was called by the news that Parliament was about to abolish all the proprietary colonies. This "charter" represents the experience of Americans as it was worked out at that time in the problems of self-government in the New World. If any other colony had been allowed to revise its constitution on the basis of what it had discoverd through its own struggles the result would probably have been much like that in Pennsylvania, where the mild proprietor was not much of a weight on the constitution-makers.

Political Change in Pennsylvania.

Penn's "Charter" provided for four representatives elected by the freemen of each county to make up an assembly, which when it met was to elect its own officers, pass on the qualification of its members, prepare bills, and have all rights of an assembly chosen by "free-born subjects of England." The

Penn's New Charter.

appointment of governor and councillors remained with the proprietor, all who believed in God were to have freedom of conscience, and all Christians could hold office. In 1705 a supplementary act provided that only Protestants could be members of the assembly. The dispute with Delaware was settled by allowing it to have a separate assembly from Pennsylvania; but each colony remained under Penn's jurisdiction, and the "Charter" embodied the government of each until the revolution. It was the habit, also, for the same governor to rule over each colony.

Deleware to have a Separate Assembly.

Probably from an early date the Quakers were less than a majority of the population of Pennsylvania, but they were the most influential portion; and their peculiar belief brought some annoying situations into existence. For example, they refused to take oaths, and sometimes even to administer them. They passed laws to allow witnesses in court to affirm, but these were disallowed by the king, who, by the original charter, reserved to himself the approval of laws. Then the assembly renewed their enactment, incorporating it in the law creating courts so that its veto, which followed, left the colony without judicial tribunals. This was no great inconvenience to the Quakers, for they usually settled their disputes among themselves; but it worked hardship on others. In 1718 the contest ended with a compromise: the assembly adopted the severe English penal code and in the same bill allowed affirmations; and the king approved their action.

Position of the Quakers.

As to Oaths.

From the beginning of their history the Quakers opposed war; from which it followed that the colony not only had no militia system, but it refused to vote money to erect forts on the frontier. Its pacific relations with the Indians warranted this course so far as internal problems were concerned; but when French influence in the Ohio valley created external problems, over which Quaker good will could exert no direction, the non-resistance principles of Pennsylvania became a serious danger. At this time Benjamin Franklin had become a force in the colony, and when in 1739 the assembly refused to raise a militia at the request of the king, he started an association to establish a volunteer organization. From a lottery he got funds to build fortifications. His action was approved by practical men, and weakened the opposition of the Quaker party. In 1745 the assembly appropriated 4000 pounds for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain" in support of the garrison in newly captured Louisburg. The governor used part of it to buy gunpowder on the ground that it was "other grain," and his action caused so little scandal that in 1746 the assembly voted the king 5000 pounds without stipulating the purpose for which it was to be used, although it was well known that it would be used for military defense.

As to Military Service.

From this time we may consider the religious motive in the matter a subordinate one; but it was replaced by a political motive. In 1754 the Indians and French were raiding on the western frontier and it was necessary for the militia system to be taken under public control. The assembly would do nothing unless the estates of the proprietor were taxed. They referred to the large amount of his unsold land from which he had no revenue, and through his influence the law failed. Then came the defeat of Braddock, followed by frontier outrages. So strong a cry went up from the non-Quaker inhabitants that the ministry in London heard it and brought a bill into Parliament to require members of the Pennsylvania assembly to take the oath of allegiance. This would effectually exclude Quakers from that body. Alarmed at the prospect of a permanent discrimination, they now decided to yield temporarily. Through the intervention of friends the bill was withdrawn from Parliament and the Quakers in the colony agreed not to stand for election to the next assembly. In a legislature thus purged of old ideas it was easy to pass laws for a militia and for fortifications.

A Militia System Established.

Penn's last days were full of financial troubles, to which were added mental infirmities. He died in 1718, leaving his colony to his four sons, for whom his widow acted until her death in 1726. Two of the sons, John and Thomas, resided in Philadelphia, the former for one and the latter for fifteen years. The development of the province made the proprietors very rich, and the demand that they should pay taxes on their lands became strong. They resisted successfully, since they controlled the governorship. In 1763 John Penn, grandson of the founder, became governor, and continued in office until the Revolution. The later Penns returned to the Church of England, which tended to widen the breach between the family and the colonists. In 1778 the state of Pennsylvania annulled the charter and allowed the proprietors 130,000 pounds in lieu of their rights. Later, 1786, a supplementary grant was made to them, and the king himself gave an annuity of 4000 pounds.

Later History of the Penn Family.

The history of Pennsylvania shows the proprietary colony at its best: that of Carolina shows it at its worst. The eight proprietors knew nothing of their colony, which they did not visit. They had no other interest in it than to get money, and when that failed they ceased to pay attention to its needs. They had no military force with which to preserve order or to enforce their own rights. By 1690 the shares had passed for the most part into the hands of a group of merchants who were as much disappointed as their predecessors with the enterprise. Meanwhile the people of the colony grew in numbers and prosperity. About 1690 the northern settlements began to be called North Carolina. In that year a governor was appointed for the first time for all Carolina,

Proprietary Misrule in Carolina.

with authority to appoint a deputy governor for the northern settlements. In 1714 Charles Eden was made governor of North Carolina without reference to the governor of South Carolina. At this time North Carolina was in serious commotion. Its population was strongly dissenting, among them many Quakers. The official class were of the Church of England, and by tendering the oaths of supremacy to the Quakers elected to the assembly they could rule the colony. The result was a social revolt, the mass of poor men arrayed against the aristocrats and conservatives. After seven years of commotion the former had a leader in Thomas Cary, who, in 1711, took up arms, but was defeated and captured with the aid of troops from Virginia. Immediately afterwards came an Indian war in which only aid sent from Charleston enabled the whites to triumph. In 1715 South Carolina had a fierce struggle of her own and received valuable aid from her northern sister. Thus the Carolinas passed safely through that stern Indian struggle which came to most colonies when the savages realized the significance of the white man's advance into the interior.

North Carolina.

The Cary Rebellion.

Indian Wars in the Two Carolinas.

In 1729 seven of the proprietors sold their rights to the crown. The one remaining was Carteret, later Earl of Grenville. In 1743 he received in lieu of his rights as proprietor a broad belt of land in the northern part of North Carolina, to have in fee the ungranted parts and to collect the quitrents on the granted portion. This vast estate was not to be managed without serious trouble in a community in which the rights of feudal proprietors were not tenderly regarded. But the conversion of the two colonies into royal provinces was beneficial to their development.

Five royal governors ruled in North Carolina, and the pathway of each was strewn with thorns. The most continual quarrel was in regard to the payment of quitrents. These were a perpetual obligation imposed on land when first granted and to be paid by whomever owned the land. They do not mean that the grantee did not have fee-simple title, as has sometimes been assumed, but were in the nature of a permanent land tax. To pay them was irksome to the settlers, who found many ways of evasion. One difficulty was that they were payable in tobacco or other produce, and that the expense of collecting from small farmers ate up the value of the proceeds. To obviate this the governor ordered that quitrents be paid at certain specified places. The inhabitants protested, and a law passed the assembly to authorize payment at the home of the landowner, where most other rents were paid. The governor vetoed the bill, and a deadlock resulted. For many years the revenue from quitrents was very slender.

The Quitrent Controversy in North Carolina.

Meanwhile, South Carolina grew in wealth through the cultivation of rice and indigo. Great numbers of negro slaves were imported, so that in 1719 there were 12,000 to a white population of 9000. The accumulation of wealth gave society an aristocratic tone, and Charleston became a seat of elegance and luxury. One result was to lessen respect for the weak authority of the proprietors, and about 1716 a series of reforms began. Hitherto all the elections were held in Charleston and all freemen were allowed to vote. It was claimed that persons in the interests of the proprietors thus controlled the elections, going so far as to allow Indians and non-resident sailors to vote in order to carry their cause. In 1716 the Indian war was just over. The proprietors had contributed nothing to the defense of the colony, and their influence in the assembly was low. The moment was favorable for election reforms, and a law passed directing that future elections be held in the parishes with a small property restriction for voters, thus shifting the center of power from the Charlestonians to the planter class. The same assembly decided to appoint its own receiver for taxes paid by the Indian traders. Both laws were promptly vetoed by the proprietors, together with a previous law levying duties. The people were in a rebellious mood, when news circulated of an expected attack from the Spanish in Florida. The governor called out the militia, who at once constituted themselves an army of revolt against the proprietary régime. New elections of the assembly had been held, and the members met, resolved themselves into a convention, after the example of the convention parliament of 1689, repudiated the authority of the proprietors, and asked the king to rule the colony as a royal province. The quickness with which the Board of Trade acceded to this request gives some strength to the suspicion that it connived at the revolution in the first instance. The proprietors, however, retained their rights to the land until the two colonies were sold to the king in 1729.

Progress in South Carolina.

Overthrow of Proprietary Rule.

In its new capacity, South Carolina had peace, and developed in wealth. Great slave plantations became the rule, whereas in North Carolina small farms were prevalent. In 1717 the population of the two colonies was about 19,000 and 9000 respectively, in 1760 it was 100,000 and 93,000. Within this period the slave population grew from 12,000 to 70,000 in South Carolina and from an inconsiderable number, probably 1500, to 16,000 in North Carolina. The latter colony was ever noted for its democratic conditions. It had no good harbors and no staple products out of which riches could be gathered. It was a land of simple abundance and the refuge of those who wished to avoid the aristocratic conditions of the neighboring colonies.

The Two Carolinas Compared.

Georgia Founded

What Penn was to the Quaker colony General James Oglethorpe was to Georgia. As a member of parliament, philanthropist, and colony planter, few men of his day deserve more our respect. His sympathy was drawn to the inmates of the debtors' prisons, and he wished to plant a colony in which they might begin life anew. Many noblemen, clergymen, and others supported the plan, and in 1732 the king by charter created the Georgia "Trustees," a company to plant a colony between the Savannah river and Florida. The king and his advisers were opposed to proprietary governments in general, but they relaxed their opposition in this case because the new colony would make a "buffer" between South Carolina and the Spanish possessions. But as a matter of simple precaution it was provided that the charter should expire in twenty-one years, after which Georgia would become a royal province.

Oglethorpe.

The Colony of Georgia Projected.

The trustees lost no time in announcing their plans of settlement. Recent affairs in South Carolina showed that when slaves far exceeded the white population the capacity of defense was lessened, and it was determined to exclude slavery from Georgia. With an eye, also, to the character of the expected debtor immigrants it was provided that one person should own no more than 500 acres of land and that grants should be strictly entailed to male heirs, in default of which they should revert to the trustees. While these regulations may have been warranted by the conditions they were devised to meet, they could only discourage the immigration of normally competent persons. Every colony in America had an abundance of land for those who would take it, and a new colony in an exposed position could not expect to have settlers unless it offered liberal terms. The prohibition of slavery was well intended by the trustees, but it displeased the actual settlers, who sent to England urgent pleas for the repeal of the regulation. They saw how men prospered in South Carolina through slave labor and resented the arbitrary power which kept them from the same fortune.

In January, 1733, Oglethorpe, who was appointed governor, arrived in Charleston with the first Georgia colony, about one hundred men, women, and children. Indian treaties were made by which the Creeks, inhabiting the Georgia coast, ceded the site of Savannah and took the settlers for allies. Other English settlers came slowly; the trustees, like other proprietors of colonies, spent little money on the enterprise after the enthusiasm of launching it was gone. Only a small proportion of those who went over were debtors. In 1734 a company of Protestants from Salzburg arrived, and later on other Germans landed. Another source of popu-

Georgia Settled.

lation was the Scotch Highlanders, who settled along the Altamaha. In 1760 the population was only 9000, of whom 3000 were slaves.

The colony was planted in defiance of Spain's claim to all the coast as far north as Charleston. Oglethorpe ignored her protests and challenged the Spaniards by erecting a fort at Frederica, the southern extremity of his charter limits. He even went so far as to found small posts as far as the St. John's river, within the bounds of Florida. So threatening became the situation that he went to England for assistance. He was authorized to raise a regiment, and returned to Georgia, 1738, with instructions not to fight until attacked. In 1739 began a war with Spain. Oglethorpe now marched against St. Augustine, but withdrew after a short siege. In 1742 the Spaniards retaliated by sending a strong expedition against Frederica. Oglethorpe had a force much inferior, but by utilizing favorable natural defenses drove off the invaders. The end of the war, 1748, found Georgia undisturbed by Spain, and thenceforth disappeared any doubts of the success of the new colony.

Oglethorpe and the Spaniards.

Now comes into greater prominence the protests of the settlers against the paternal restrictions of the well-intentioned trustees. George Whitfield, the missionary, who had founded an orphanage in Georgia, was one of those who urged the free admission of slaves. So strong was the cry of the objectors that one by one the restrictions were removed. In 1749 the importation of slaves was allowed, with certain safeguards as to the proportions of slave and free population. In 1750 the objectionable restrictions on land owning were removed, and at the same time the importation of rum, hitherto forbidden, was allowed. These relaxations gave greater freedom to individual enterprise, and the result was favorable.

Restrictions Removed.

The early government of Georgia was very paternal, as became a colony founded for the inmates of debtors' prisons. There was no assembly, laws were made by the trustees, resident in England, and the governor had extensive powers. When Oglethorpe at last went to England, 1743, a president and four assistants were left in charge. In 1751 an assembly was summoned. It was not to make laws, however, but to suggest them to the trustees. At this time Oglethorpe and his associates were discouraged with their attempts to govern men more wisely than they could govern themselves. In view of the approaching termination of their charter, 1753, they thought it well to surrender their authority over the colony. Thus Georgia became a royal province and prospered under a governor, council, and assembly.

Government in Georgia.

Growth of New France

While the English gradually extended their agricultural settlements from the coast to the Alleghanies, France was establishing a less solid occupation in the Mississippi Basin. Her flag was carried forward by traders, who at wide intervals built forts occupied by small garrisons. Such occupancy did not alarm the natives. In fact, it pleased them; for the game was not driven away, and an abundance of manufactured goods and a convenient market for furs were assured. To maintain the forts was expensive, and if war should come, the defense of the vast region must be made by troops sent from Canada or France. The French power, therefore, was not so well rooted in the soil as that of England on the coast.

English and French Colonization.

The beginning of French colonization in America was in the sixteenth century, when Coligny, the Huguenot leader, made an unsuccessful attempt to establish in "Florida" a refuge for his coreligionists. In 1562 he sent out Ribaut, a bold mariner, to explore the coast and select a place for settlement. Ribaut was delighted with the country, and left thirty men at Port Royal harbor in a rude palisade, called "Charlefort" for Charles IX. Idleness and want soon brought them to mutiny, and they escaped to Europe in a boat of their own construction. Starving and reduced to cannibalism, they at last sighted the French shore, only to be made captives by an English vessel which happened to be near.

Coligny's Colony in "Florida."

Coligny was not discouraged, and in 1564 sent out a colony under Laudonnière. It settled at the mouth of St. John's river and built Fort Caroline, named, like its predecessor, in honor of the king. Hunger and discontent soon appeared, and the colony was on the verge of ruin when a second expedition brought supplies and restored the spirits of the people. What would have followed does not appear; for a greater danger than any hitherto encountered was at hand. The Spaniards of Cuba had heard of the settlement, and September 19, 1565, Pedro Menendez, with a strong Spanish force, surprised the fort and mercilessly slew or captured the French defenders who did not escape to the forest. Leaving a garrison on the site, he founded St. Augustine, fifty miles southward. The Florida coast commanded the route by which Spanish treasure ships returned from the Gulf of Mexico, and it was not to be left in the hands of a foreign power. News of Menendez's atrocities caused great commotion in France, and in the spring of 1568 Dominique de Gourgues appeared at Fort Caroline. He surprised the garrison, slew those who resisted, and hanged the prisoners. Over the slain Huguenots

Second Colony, Fort Caroline, 1564.

Menendez had put up this notice: "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans." De Gourgues left over the dangling bodies of the Spaniards this inscription: "I do this not as to Spaniards, nor as to Marranos, but as to traitors, robbers, and to murderers." But for all this St. Augustine continued to exist and Florida remained a Spanish colony.

In Canada, where Cartier's explorations, 1534, 1535, and 1541, had given France a claim by right of prior discovery, French colonization fared better. Fur traders continued to visit the St. Lawrence, but no other impetus toward planting settlements was seen until the region came under the eyes of Champlain, who arrived as the guest of a trader in 1603. From that time his interest was keenly aroused. The next year he returned with De Monts, who had a charter to plant a colony in La Cadie, or Acadia, as the French had called the region from northern Nova Scotia to Philadelphia. A settlement made at Douchet Island proved unsatisfactory, and the colonists moved to the neighborhood of Annapolis, where they managed to withstand the cold and perils of the forest for many years. De Monts, however, was discouraged, and withdrew from the undertaking. But Champlain's zeal was unabated. What he had seen only made him love the long stretches of shore and forest along which he sailed for many a day. In 1608 he returned to plant a trading colony at Quebec, which his discerning eye selected as the key to the St. Lawrence valley. Fur trading supported his colony, but his adventurous spirit sought other fields. The Indians around him, Algonquins, were at feud with the Iroquois, and Champlain was induced to aid them. Early in 1609 he, with two other whites, joined a war party going southward. He eventually reached the lake which now has his name, and on its shore a battle was fought. As the Iroquois advanced across a plain, Champlain in full armor showed himself, shot two Indians dead, and wounded another. A third was killed by one of the other whites, and the savages fled. From that time the French settlements in Canada had the hostility of the powerful Iroquois Confederacy. Champlain had naturally thought best to make friends with the Indians among whom he had settled, and for many years his action produced no bad results; but there came a time when the French wished to extend their influence into the region now known as western New York, and were prevented by Iroquoian hostility. By this small occurrence in 1609 the eastern and southern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie were kept out of French hands and made accessible at the proper time to the English-speaking people.

France turns toward Canada.

Champlain.

Quebec Founded, 1608.

Hostility of the Iroquois.

New France, as the St. Lawrence region was now called, grew slowly. It was only a series of trading posts, and so little concerned

with agriculture that in 1628, when war interrupted communication with Europe, only one family in Quebec had raised enough food to support it through the winter. In 1660 there were 3000 white settlers, including the fishing posts in Acadia. In 1629 Quebec was taken by the English, but Charles I restored it to France. Champlain died at Quebec in 1635.

Slow Growth of New France.

It was about this time that the Jesuits turned their attention to Canada. They proposed to convert and civilize the Indians, and thus establish French power in the Lake region while they delivered into French hands an immense fur trade. With the Algonquins on the St. Lawrence they were easily successful: then they sent missions to the Hurons, on the shores of the lake which now bears their name, and here, after some delays, they also succeeded. With the Iroquois they could, for a long time, make no headway. It is not probable that an Indian nation under French influence, however civilized, could have kept the English permanently out of the region south of Lake Erie; and it is certain that the Iroquois, through their hostility to everything French, defeated the hopes of the Jesuits and made easier the progress of the English. But the work of the priests commands our esteem. They went without hesitation into the most dangerous places, giving up their lives as readily to torture as to disease. Their "Relations," reports of their experiences, were published contemporaneously in France and stimulated popular interest in Canada, while for posterity they are a valuable source of knowledge of Indian life. On the savages themselves the missionaries exerted a good influence. The tendency to make war continually was lessened, the most barbarous forms of torturing captives disappeared, and their general antipathy toward the whites was softened. On the other hand, the religious and humanitarian activities of the Jesuits were strongly colored by their loyalty to France.

Plans of the Jesuits.

Let us now turn to the Iroquois, for many years the foes of the Jesuits. Five nations, the Mohawks on the east, and next in order, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas made up the Confederacy. A sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, of North Carolina, did not join the Confederacy until 1713. In the time of Champlain the strength of the Iroquois was about 2500 warriors; but superior central organization, with the courage of the men, made it the most powerful Indian organization of the North Atlantic coast. The wars against the French and the Algonquins were usually led by the Mohawks, those against the Hurons by the Senecas. By 1650 the Hurons were broken and dispersed, and by 1750 the Iroquoian authority through a series of wars was imposed in a loose way over all the western tribes as far as Lake Michigan, the Illinois, and the Mississippi, and southward to the northern

Power of the Iroquois.

limits of the present states of Mississippi and Alabama. Armed by the Dutch, the Mohawks and neighboring nations made life wretched for the French and Algonquins on the St. Lawrence. In 1665 Louis XIV sent a fine regiment to America to chastise this fierce enemy. In two fruitless expeditions it destroyed some villages which the inhabitants had abandoned, and only succeeded in stimulating the Mohawks' hatred of France. At this time (1664) New York passed into English hands. Its new masters early appreciated the importance of Iroquoian friendship, and in 1684, in a memorable treaty at Albany, induced them to acknowledge themselves English subjects. Governor Dongan, of New York, thereupon informed the governor of Canada that the province of New York included the Iroquois lands, and caused the arms of the Duke of York to be affixed to walls of the Iroquois towns. The reply was a French invasion which accomplished nothing. For the time it was believed that the French would make a determined attempt against New York, which was not able to offer serious resistance. It was partly to have a consolidated force strong enough to meet this danger that James II created the short-lived Dominion of New England. France and England were now keenly alive to the importance of their American possessions, and their wars for the next seventy years always kindled the conflict on the American frontier. But that part of our story must be deferred while we consider the extension of French authority in the Mississippi valley.

Iroquois and the English.

The missionaries to the Hurons were the first Frenchmen to have knowledge of the rich country beyond Lake Erie. Though driven out of it by the dispersion of the Indians, they kept alive the knowledge of its wonders. In 1673 Father Marquette, member of the indomitable society, and Joliet, a trader, going through this country, came to the Wisconsin river, down which they took their canoes until they came to the Mississippi, which they followed to the mouth of the Arkansas. They desired to reach the salt sea, but prudently turned back lest they fall into Spanish hands and knowledge of their discovery perish with them.

Marquette and Joliet.

What they failed to do was achieved by La Salle, one of the most intrepid of the French explorers. He wished to organize the fur trade on the lakes, and from the profits carry on extensive discoveries in the region beyond. A license was obtained from the king, and money was subscribed by friends, but the opposition of Quebec merchants and the Jesuits was a severe impediment. Before complete ruin overtook his scheme he set out in December, 1681, to follow the "Great River" of Marquette and Joliet to the sea. With him were Tonti, a faithful friend, and fifty-three others, Frenchmen and Indians. From Lake Michigan they ascended the Chicago to its source and thence by portage to the Illinois, down which they reached the Mississippi, and April 6 they passed out one of its sluggish

La Salle.

mouths to the Gulf of Mexico. The Indians were friendly and assured La Salle that he was the first white man to explore the river; he took possession of its banks in the name of the king of France. News of his achievement aroused enthusiasm in France, and in 1684 he set out with a colony and four ships, fitted out by the king, to settle at the mouth of the Mississippi. After many hardships he landed on the Texas coast, whence he started overland to find the river he had traversed and to communicate with Tonti, whom he expected to arrive from Canada. In the interior he was murdered by his own men, 1687, and of his followers only a few survived starvation on the great plains or escaped the hands of the Spaniards.

His Death.

La Salle's unfinished work was taken up in 1698 by d'Iberville and his brother, Bienville, both notable men in New France. In January, 1699, they arrived by sea and planted a trading post at Biloxi, on the mainland near the mouth of the river. Bienville was governor, and the country was called Louisiana, for Louis XIV. For many years the fate of the place seemed doubtful. The Indian trade was engrossed by the English and Spaniards, and the colonists were not inclined to become agriculturists. In 1712 the monopoly of the Louisiana trade was granted for fifteen years to Crozat, but he managed it so badly that it yielded small returns. Five years later the colony, including trade privileges and the ownership of ungranted lands, passed into the hands of Law's Mississippi Company. Its immense possibilities, which were carefully exploited by the adventurers, gave a basis of confidence to the company; but the final collapse was certain. Before it came, however, New Orleans was founded, 1718, and became the seat of government of Louisiana. In 1731 the company gave up its rights, and the colony was thenceforth governed by the crown. It had no popular assembly, but the authority was in the hands of a governor with local courts, from the decisions of which appeal lay to the king. The population grew slowly, and by the middle of the century it was not more than six thousand, one third being slaves. At this time St. Louis, Natchez, and several other interior posts had been established.

Louisiana Settled, 1699.

The French and Indian Wars

Three great Frenchmen influenced the history of New France late in the seventeenth century, — Louis XIV, Colbert, his minister, and Frontenac, twice governor of Canada, 1672 to 1682 and 1689 until his death in 1698. The first and second acted together, creating in 1664 a consolidated company with trade monopoly for all the French colonies. To it the king offered bounties for all goods exported or imported and generous assistance in the

Colonial Policy.

early years of the enterprise. To encourage infant industries liberal grants were made, immigration was stimulated, marriage was encouraged, and large families were rewarded in many ways. Louis XIV watched eagerly the reports of Canadian population. They could have given him little comfort for all he had spent, since in 1679 the colony contained but 9400 whites, and there were only 6983 horned cattle, 719 sheep, and 145 horses. Colbert died in 1683, but his policy in Canada was continued.

Louis XIV and Colbert.

Frontenac was chiefly notable for his ability in dealing with the Iroquois. In 1673 he made a treaty with them and built a fort where Kingston now stands. He said that with a vessel on Lake Erie and a fort on the Niagara he could now control the upper lakes. The ship, the *Griffon*, was built by La Salle, but was wrecked on her first voyage. Frontenac supported La Salle's trading enterprise and thus incurred the opposition of the Quebec traders, whose profits were affected. He also incurred the hostility of the Jesuits, whose power by this time was overwhelming. Combining their efforts, his enemies secured his removal in 1682. His successors renewed the war with the Iroquois, who were thus thrown back on the English for support.

Frontenac's Plans.

By this time the French were aware of the vast possibilities of the interior parts of North America. Of the three river valleys that conduct thither they held two, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and it seemed necessary to seize the other, the Hudson, ere it was able to defy them. To do so would cut the English settlements in twain and go far toward expelling English authority from the continent. Moreover, the opportunity to realize these plans seemed to come when in 1689 France began war with England on account of the overthrow of James II by William of Orange.

France Desires the Hudson.

Her first care was to send Frontenac back to Canada as governor, and he immediately turned his attention to winning over the Iroquois. In order to impress them with French prowess he sent three expeditions against the English frontier. February 9, 1690, a force of Frenchmen and Indians surprised Schenectady, near Albany, slew 60 whites and led away 27 captives. The second force attacked and destroyed the village of Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, and the third took Fort Loyal, where Portland, Maine, now stands. Each of these affairs was conducted with much cruelty, and cries for vengeance arose from all the northern colonies. A congress of delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New York convened in May, 1690, and planned a retaliatory expedition to take Quebec. It was agreed that New York and Connecticut should raise an army and attack Montreal by way of Lake

King William's War, 1690–1697.

Frontenac's Raids.

Champlain. Massachusetts was asked to coöperate by sending a naval force against Quebec. To this request her delegates would not positively agree. At that moment a fleet of her armed merchantmen, under the command of Sir William Phips, was engaged in an expedition against Port Royal, in Acadia, a nest from which had gone forth many privateers. Soon Phips appeared in Boston laden with booty and reporting that Port Royal had been subdued and its inhabitants forced to take oaths of loyalty to William and Mary. So great was the enthusiasm that the colony decided to send a strong force against Quebec, believing that a bold stroke would end the French peril in that quarter once for all.

A Counter-stroke Planned.

Capture of Port Royal.

While Massachusetts made ready her attack, the army of the other colonies had assembled and set out for Montreal. Dissension appeared, smallpox was discovered, the Iroquois allies did not keep their promises, and the expedition was abandoned at Lake Champlain. After many delays Phips started for Quebec August 9, 1690. He had no pilot who knew the St. Lawrence, and as he groped his way through its course news of his movements was carried to Frontenac, who barely had time to collect his forces at Quebec, most of them having been drawn off to Montreal to meet the expected attack there. The Massachusetts men landed 1200 strong and laid siege to the town. Their commander lacked the ability of his opponent, and soon disease and discouragement reigned in the army. Cold weather now approached, and it was decided to return to Boston. Had Phips acted vigorously at first, it is probable that the town would have been taken. The expedition cost the colony dearly both in money and in the men who died from disease.

Failure of the Counter-stroke.

The war now waged was called in the colonies "King William's War." It lasted until 1697, when peace came with the Treaty of Ryswick between France and England. No large expedition marked the further course of the struggle on either side in America, but Indian forays were continuous. The New England borders, from Northampton to Pemaquid, suffered severely. In 1697 Haverhill was captured with scenes of bloodshed. One of the captives was Hannah Dustin. Led away toward Canada, she watched her opportunity, slew her captors, and escaped to her friends. Her achievement was long a source of inspiration to the frontier women of America. During this war the Iroquois suffered severely at the hands of the French. Two strong expeditions were sent against them by Frontenac, and it was reported by the French that their fighting men were reduced to half their former number. In 1694 they were willing to make peace with France, but Frontenac refused unless the Indian allies of the French were included, — terms the Iroquois would not accept. In maintaining the good will of these savages the services of Peter

Indian Raids.

Results of the War.

Schuyler, of Albany, were most valuable to the English. The treaty of peace left affairs as they were at the beginning of the war.

In 1701 began the War of the Spanish Succession, whose American phase was called "Queen Anne's War." During the interval of peace the French had made a treaty with the Iroquois. A further peaceful influence was the conversion of a large portion of the Mohawks and their removal to the vicinity of Montreal. Thus Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, was able for several years to preserve friendship with this powerful confederacy, and in consequence the New York border did not suffer in Queen Anne's War as formerly. It was otherwise with New England. The Abenakis, who lived on this frontier, were under the influence of the missionaries, and faithful to France. The governor used them to harass the settlements, and their captives were turned over to the missionaries for conversion to Catholicism.

Queen Anne's War, 1701–1713.

Every portion of this frontier suffered, but the severest blow was at Deerfield, February, 1704. Fifty Canadians and two hundred Indians fell on the place on a bitterly cold night, scaled the palisade before they could be discovered, and killed the inhabitants from house to house. Fifty-three whites perished during the night and one hundred and eleven were carried away through the frozen forests, among them Rev. John Williams and his family. Seventeen of the prisoners were killed on the march because they could not keep up with their captors, and others died of hunger. Mrs. Williams died in the former way, but the husband and children reached Canada safely. After futile efforts to force him to conversion he was purchased by the governor from his Indian master, and in later years he and the survivors were ransomed by their friends in New England. Many "New England Captives" refused to return when the opportunity offered. Of this class was Eunice Williams, daughter of the Deerfield minister. Converted to Catholicism and married to an Indian husband, she clung to her new home and religion.

Deerfield Raided.

England was by this time convinced of the importance of taking Canada, and made plans for a joint English and colonial expedition for that purpose. In 1710 a fleet appeared in Boston, where it was joined by a body of colonial troops and succeeded in taking Port Royal, whose name was changed to Annapolis. From that time Acadia was a British possession. In 1711 a still larger fleet appeared, commanded by Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker. On board was an army under John Hill, brother of Queen Anne's favorite, Mrs. Masham. This force, after receiving recruits in Boston, numbered 12,000 men, and should have taken Quebec with ease. But the admiral would not trust his French pilots, and ran on the rocks near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, with a loss of ten

Port Royal Taken.

Failure of Sir Hovenden Walker.

ships and 900 men. With this he lost heart and abandoned the expedition.

In this war Spain was allied with France, and for that reason war began between her colonies and South Carolina. The initiative was with the Spaniards of Florida, who in 1702 armed a large number of Indians for a hostile movement. Before they could attack they were severely defeated by a body of Indians raised by the South Carolinians, who then attacked St. Augustine, burned the town, but failed to capture the fort held by a Spanish garrison. Next year they raided the Florida plantations, doing much damage. In 1706 the Spaniards retaliated with a large French and Spanish fleet and a strong landing party sent out from Havana to take Charleston. It met a stout resistance from Governor Nathaniel Johnson and the colonial army. An attempt to land was beaten back and the invading fleet was attacked so vigorously by a flotilla of Carolina craft that it departed. A French man-of-war which anchored in a neighboring bay was surrounded and taken. In this spirited defense of their chief city the South Carolinians showed great courage, and it is likely that with the aid of a small English force they could have destroyed Spanish power in Florida.

South Carolina and Florida.

By this time England and France, with their allies, were tired of the war, and peace was made at Utrecht, 1713. As to America, the terms were: (1) England was to have Acadia, whose boundaries, however, were not defined; (2) the Iroquois were acknowledged as English subjects, but their boundaries also were not defined; (3) Newfoundland was ceded to England, but the French might dry fish on a part of the coast; and (4) the Hudson Bay region was to be English territory. This was the first important treaty in which the affairs of English America figured, and Professor Channing well says it may be regarded as the beginning of the diplomatic history of the United States.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

Acadia now became the royal province of Nova Scotia. Its possession by the British meant much for the New England fisheries. The Hudson Bay clause, also, had special significance. Fifty years earlier Groseillier and Radisson, two Frenchmen excluded from the fur trade by the system of monopolies in existence in Canada, learned that the Canadian northwest could be approached from the great bay of the north. After futile efforts to get financial support in Boston and Paris, they got help from a group of English nobles, among them Prince Rupert, cousin of the king. The result was a charter for the Hudson Bay Company, 1670. Thus was founded the great commercial organization which has worked so mightily to extend British influence in the northern parts of the continent. It received its guarantee of

The Hudson Bay Company.

territorial development in the Treaty of Utrecht. Still another feature of this treaty which was important to the colonies was the clause known as the "Assiento," by which English merchants had for thirty years the monopoly of the slave trade in Spanish America. Out of the firm development of this trade English colonial slavery as well as colonial trade was to get an added impetus.

The "Assiento."

To make good the loss of Port Royal, France now built a strong fortress on Cape Breton Island, calling it Louisburg. This evident determination to perpetuate her influence in that region convinced the English authorities that further trouble was to be expected on the frontier. The expectation was realized when the War of the Austrian Succession began in 1744. In this struggle England and France were again on opposite sides, and hostilities at once began in America, where the conflict is known as "King George's War." It was hardly begun before Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and his associates were laying plans to take Louisburg. Indeed, they could hardly do otherwise; for the place harbored so many privateers that New England fishermen and traders were reduced to direst distress.

King George's War. 1745–1748.

Louisburg.

For this expedition New England raised 4000 men who sailed from Boston on March 24, 1745, under the command of William Pepperell, a rich merchant of Kittery, Maine. He found Louisburg insufficiently garrisoned and supplied, and a British fleet arriving at that time in the Gulf of Newfoundland served to keep French reënforcements from the beleaguered fort. After forty days of siege Pepperell received the surrender of the stronghold. The news of this colonial achievement caused an outbreak of surprise and joy in England, and for his part in it the commander was made a baronet. In France it caused bewilderment and dismay. Two expeditions were sent to retake Louisburg, but the first, 1746, returned on account of storms and the death of the commander, and the second, 1747, was driven back by a British fleet. In 1746 Shirley organized a strong land expedition against Canada, but it was disbanded by the English authorities, who needed elsewhere the regulars Shirley expected to use. In 1748 the war ended in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louisburg was unwisely restored to France, and an attempt was made to soothe New England's disappointment by a donation of money which partly repaid her expenses in the war.

Louisburg Taken.

Results of the War.

The Last Conflict between the English and the French in North America

No one who knew the conditions in America believed that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled the differences between England and France. In fact, every year brought the settlements of the two powers closer together, and in doing so increased the probability of war. A series of posts from the upper Mississippi to the lakes through the Wabash valley marked a continuous line of travel; and in 1749, the year after the treaty was signed, the governor of Canada sent Céloron de Bienville with 214 white men and a force of Indians to take possession of the Ohio valley. In token of their pretensions they planted leaden plates from Lake Chautauqua down the Alleghany and the Ohio and up the Great Miami, including a portion of the undisputed territory of the Iroquois. On the journey they met several bands of English traders, whom they ordered out of the country. In the same year several Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of the future president of the republic, secured a royal grant for 200,000 acres of land south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and Kanawha. About the same time a still larger tract was secured by the Loyal Land Company to be located beyond the mountains, probably in Tennessee or Kentucky. These two movements, French and English, brought the two rival nations into close proximity in a region which each regarded as the key to the control of the interior. A clash could hardly be avoided.

French and English in the Ohio Valley.

If additional motive was necessary, it was to be found in Indian relations in the lower part of the great valley. In the southern Appalachians lived the Cherokees, a strong and progressive nation. From the seventeenth century the Virginia traders visited it, but with the settlement of Carolina its rich trade was absorbed by the merchants of Charleston. When Georgia was settled Augusta became a strong rival of Charleston. This shifting of the Cherokee trade from place to place has nothing to do with the conflict for the Mississippi valley, but it well shows the progress of industrial distribution. In 1730 the English made a treaty with the Cherokees, taking them under British protection. South of them were the Creeks, another powerful nation, and westward on the Mississippi the Chickasaws and Choctaws. With these latter tribes the English had traded also, but the Spaniards disputed with them the trade of the Creeks, and after the settlement of Biloxi, New Orleans, and Mobile (1710) the French became competitors for it. They made treaties with the three last-mentioned nations, and what was the horror of the Englishmen to learn that active efforts were being made to win the Cherokees. If France

Conflicting Interests in the South.

could establish a firm influence over these western tribes, it was clear she would be in a strong position to exclude any rival power not only from the western trade but from pretensions at sovereignty as well.

The Forks of the Ohio.

But let us return to events in the Ohio valley. Four years after Bienville's journey, *i.e.* in 1753, Duquesne, the governor of Canada, sent 1000 men to the same region. They constructed a road thirteen miles long from Presque Isle, now Erie, to the Rivière aux Bœufs, tributary of the Allegheny, where they built Fort Le Bœuf, and about forty miles southward they built Fort Machault on the Allegheny. Whither this tended was easy to see, and Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent a protest by the hands of George Washington, a young man of twenty-one years whose character had already won the confidence of all who knew him. The region occupied, so said the protest, was in Virginia, and the governor of Canada was told to vacate it. The commandant at Fort de Bœuf forwarded the letter to Governor Duquesne, and Washington returned by a most difficult journey to Virginia. On the way he met a party going into the wilderness to build a trading fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, a critical point which the French advance had not yet reached. They had hardly accomplished their purpose when a large French force descended the Allegheny in canoes, took the fort, and enlarged and strengthened it, changing the name to Fort Duquesne. This happened in April, 1754.

The French Successful.

At Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.) the expelled English garrison met Washington, now lieutenant colonel, whom Governor Dinwiddie had sent forward with 300 men to strengthen the garrison at the forks of the Ohio. The task assigned was beyond his present strength, but Washington determined to go forward and open and hold a road by which a larger party could drive out the French. With great difficulty he cut a road across the mountains, and came late in May to Great Meadows, fifty miles from Will's Creek. Learning from friendly Indians that a French detachment had marched to meet him, he surprised and defeated it, May 28. The French explained afterwards that the detachment, whose leader, Jumonville, was killed, merely came to warn the English out of the country. The affair was followed by a movement in force against the colonial army. Washington built a rude work, Fort Necessity, and met the attack as well as he could, hoping to hold out until reënforcements arrived. His efforts were futile, and July 4 he surrendered the place, marching out with the honors of war.

The war which was thus begun had been foreseen by the British government, who in 1753 ordered the governors of certain colonies to hold a conference with the Iroquois and devise a plan of common defense. Accordingly the Albany congress met June 19, 1754,

with delegates present from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Washington was then facing defeat beyond the Alleghanies, and the congress took up the large phases of the situation. To meet the crisis, united action was demanded, and the meeting adopted a plan of union furnished by Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates, who, however, acted for a committee appointed to consider the subject. It provided for a federal council of delegates from each colony, to meet annually, and to have among other federal powers the right to lay taxes, enact laws, raise armies, appoint officials, and manage Indian affairs. In the general state of colonial jealousy then existing it was impossible that the colonies should accept a scheme which took from them so much of their own authority. The plan was rejected by the assemblies, to which it was referred, and it found little favor in England. Franklin justly said it had too much self-government to please the king and too much prerogative to please the assemblies.

The Albany Congress, 1754.

Meanwhile, an elaborate attack on Canada was prepared in England, although war with France was not yet declared. While a fleet under Boscawen lurked around the mouth of the St. Lawrence to intercept ships taking troops to Quebec, colonial expeditions were to seize the frontier posts. Boscawen allowed the prize to slip through his fingers, and of the other attempts only that of Braddock demands our attention. This brave but headstrong officer, with two British regiments, arrived in the Potomac in March, 1755, and prepared to move from Will's Creek on Fort Duquesne. He was joined by 450 Virginia militia under Washington, the entire army being thus about 2000 strong. Widening and extending Washington's road, his advance reached Turtle Creek, eight miles from Duquesne, on July 9. As the troops marched through an opening in the forest they encountered a heavy fire from each side of the road. The Virginians leaped into the bushes and fired from behind whatever cover they found. Braddock, coming up, swore at them loudly, and when some of his regulars sought to fight like the Virginians, he beat them back into the ranks. In close formation in the middle of a glade they fired into the forest whence came the enemy's fire, and in doing so killed some of the militia. On the other hand, they made an excellent target for the foe, and fell rapidly. Braddock rode everywhere with the greatest coolness, but his efforts were unavailing, and when he finally received a mortal wound he had just given the order to retreat. Washington, who had been in the thickest of the fight, took command and led the men to the rear. Of the 1200 men in the advance body 877 were killed or wounded. The attacking party, led by Beaujeu, who was killed in the fight, contained no more than 254 whites and 600 Indians,

The French and Indian War begun, Boscawen's Orders.

Braddock's Expedition.

and the latter went home with their booty after the battle. At Duquesne all was confusion, and the 1100 men still left in the English army might have taken the place. But Dunbar, who now took command, fled to Philadelphia, burning his wagons and destroying a large quantity of powder. This disaster was followed by Indian outrages, Braddock's road making such operations easy to the savages.

Fighting in New York.

While Braddock played his part in western Pennsylvania, fighting also occurred in New York. William Johnson marched with about 3000 men to take the position at Crown Point, commanding the road from Lake George to Lake Champlain. The French sent Dieskau with an equal force to oppose him. At Lake George, September 8, the French advance attacked a part of Johnson's force and was beaten off after a hot engagement. Johnson gained much credit and was made a baronet for his part in the battle, although he was wounded early in the day and the command was taken by Phineas Lyman, of Connecticut, a better soldier. But Johnson's victory was the only success of the year, and the government felt constrained to give it prominence. An expedition by which Governor Shirley attempted to take Fort Niagara failed completely, partly because Braddock's defeat prevented an expected coöperation, and partly because it was impossible to bring up supplies to support a large army on the western border of New York.

Removal of the Acadians.

In the same year occurred the removal of the Acadians. The governor of Nova Scotia was alarmed at their attitude, since they insisted on being "neutrals" in the impending war and refused to take an unconditional oath of allegiance to England. He called on Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, who sent 2000 volunteers, with whose aid Fort Beausejour was taken. Then it was decided to remove the French Acadians forcibly and distribute them among the colonies to the southward. The decision was carried out with great suffering. Many of the exiles escaped from their new homes, some going to Louisiana, others to Canada, and others returning to Nova Scotia. The sad tragedy has received its most popular rendering in Longfellow's "Evangeline." The attitude of the Acadians toward the British government was reprehensible, but not enough so to justify the punishment they received.

Beginning of the Seven Years' War.

In 1756 began the Seven Years' War in Europe, England joining Prussia against France and Austria. This was two years after fighting had begun in America, where the struggle is known as the French and Indian War. The British ministry was led at first by Newcastle, who thought only of patronage and peculation, and their conduct of the war was weak. A new ministry created in 1756 could do little more, although Pitt was in it in a secondary position. Finally there was such a popular demand for this firm and patriotic leader that in 1757 he was

given full control of the war policy, while Newcastle, one of the Pelhams, maintained the control of home affairs. Frederick the Great said, when he heard of the appointment: "England has long been in labor, and at last she has brought forth a man."

Meanwhile, the years 1756 and 1757 were full of misfortunes in America, where Loudon, a weak product of the Pelham régime, commanded. In 1756 Oswego was taken, and in 1757 an expedition against Louisburg failed, while a French army under Montcalm took Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake George, and perhaps only the withdrawal of his Indian allies saved from capture Fort Edward, on the upper Hudson. Out of the discouragement consequent on these events the colonies were raised by the news that Pitt was in full power, and that arms, ammunition, and provisions would be furnished by the king for any troops the colonies would raise. The response was excellent, and soon every colony north of the Potomac was filled with busy preparations for war.

Disasters of 1756 and 1757.

Four principal campaigns came out of this activity in America. The first was against Louisburg, now greatly strengthened and defended by 3000 regulars with twelve warships anchored in the harbor. Before the place appeared in the summer of 1758 forty-one British men-of-war and 11,000 regulars with a small force of provincials. Jeffrey Amherst was in command, and one of his brigadiers was James Wolfe. In a severe bombardment the French fleet was burned, the walls of the fort were pierced, and the garrison was forced to surrender. In 1749 Halifax had been founded as a seat of English power on the northern coast, and in view of its development Louisburg ceased to be important. Lest it again fall into enemy hands it was demolished in 1760.

Louisburg Captured.

The second campaign was made to take Fort Duquesne and relieve Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia from Indian raids. The task was assigned to General Forbes with 1200 Highlanders and nearly 5000 militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. The advance was slow, partly because the commander was ill and partly because he believed that the French Indians would become impatient and desert the force at Duquesne. As winter approached he heard that just this had happened. Hurrying forward with an advance guard of 2500 he found the fort deserted and its works blown up, November 25, 1758. The French had fled. Three months earlier Colonel Bradstreet had destroyed Fort Frontenac, commanding Lake Ontario. The fugitives from Forbes' vengeance were thus cut off from Canada and dispersed into the wilderness. From these two blows collapsed all that network of posts France established in the Ohio valley, and those which were on or south of the western lakes were left mostly to their own resources. The fort at the forks of the

Fort Duquesne Taken.

Ohio was now named Fort Pitt, in honor of the minister who made its capture possible.

The year 1758 thus saw the Canadian frontier defenses carried at the two extremes, Louisburg and Duquesne. An attack made on its center, along the Hudson-Lake-Champlain line of approach, was a failure. For the command Abercromby, a political favorite, was selected against the wishes of Pitt; but it was hoped that his inefficiency would be overbalanced by his second in command, George Howe, as capable and popular a soldier as then served the king. Abercromby gathered his forces, 15,000 strong, at Lake George, and July 4, 1758, advanced against Ticonderoga. Next day an attempted ambuscade was beaten off, but with the loss of Howe's life. From this time things went badly. July 8, the British general fought a long and hard battle under the walls of the fort, and at the end withdrew with a loss of 1944. He had been repulsed by a force one fourth as large as his own, and yet he fled rapidly to his boats. The demoralization of his army was only relieved by Bradstreet's capture of Frontenac a few weeks later.

Abercromby's Failure.

At this point let us consider affairs in Canada, where three men were to mar or make the country's fortune. In 1756 the Marquis de Montcalm, an excellent soldier and a cultured gentleman, arrived in Quebec with a commission to command all the forces in Canada. His coming disappointed Vaudreuil, the governor, who did not relish a diminution of his own authority. Over his head scowled the dark face of Bigot, intendant and head of finances. Convinced that neither the irresolute governor nor the brave general could save Canada from the British, he hastened the course of his peculations in the conviction that the approaching cataclysm would destroy the evidences of guilt. He seems to have induced the governor to share the spoils, and the consequent corruption in civil affairs was a source of embarrassment to the honest and patriotic Montcalm. It cut off the supplies needed for the army, increased the expenses of the war, and made it difficult to get recruits. All the while the jealous governor did not cease to try to discredit the general with the authorities at home. Montcalm, disgusted with the situation, was on the point of resigning when Forts Duquesne and Frontenac were lost and he then felt that honor demanded that he stay in Canada. His army at the time it was largest consisted of 4000 French and 2500 Canadian regulars, with 5000 colonial militia. Besides these, all able-bodied men in New France might be called into service when needed. The Indian allies rarely mustered more than 1000.

Montcalm's Difficulties.

In 1759 Pitt sent out two strong expeditions. Wolfe, with 9000 men and a powerful fleet was to attack Quebec by the St. Lawrence, and Amherst, with 11,000, was to move on the same place by way of Lake Champlain. Supporting Amherst, 5000 men under Colonel Prideaux were sent

Operations Planned for 1759.

against Fort Niagara. This post was easily taken, and Oswego was rebuilt, reëstablishing complete English control of Lake Ontario. Amherst's expedition reached Lake George in June, whereupon the French abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Following their retreat northward he found them strongly placed at Isle aux Noix, commanding the entrance of the Richelieu, and was not able to take the position on account of the approach of winter. On Wolfe, therefore, fell the burden of the attack on Quebec. For that work his army was designed to be strong enough for complete success even if it acted independently. France, now engaged on every side in Europe, had no troops available for Canada. Montcalm, harassed by enemies at his own side, was forced to prepare for the impending conflict with no other outside assistance than 500 fresh troops and a small supply of provisions. Advised of the coming of Wolfe, he gathered at Quebec all the men available, 15,000 white men and 1000 Indians, and held himself ready for the onslaught.

The British expedition was before Quebec by June 26. Before him Wolfe saw a rocky peninsula, at the end of which was the town. The crest of the bluff was well fortified, and across the neck of land above the town a strong line of intrenchments was drawn. To assault the place from the water front or in the rear seemed futile. In fact, it was a prevalent opinion that Quebec was impregnable, and to starve it into submission was difficult, because winter operations were impossible. Wolfe realized these disadvantages, but landed his many cannon on points of vantage and opened a bombardment. At the end of two months the buildings in the town had been badly damaged, but the French hold was not relaxed. The delay, however, discouraged the provincial troops, many of whom went home. The approach of winter warned the British that they must complete their work or withdraw, and Wolfe decided to attack the town from the high ground behind it. On the night of September 12, he managed to find a way to the Plains of Abraham, a mile and a half from Quebec, and by the morning of the 13th 4500 troops were drawn up ready to assault the defenses. Montcalm hurried forward with a force of about equal size. Thinking only a small portion of Wolfe's men confronted him, he drew up his troops in line of battle in order to drive the British into the river. Had he retired into his own lines he might have held out until the November frosts forced the British to withdraw. The battle that followed was hard volley against hard volley, and lasted only a few minutes. Some of the Frenchmen were recruits whose wavering threw the rest into confusion, and then the whole line broke for the cover of the fortifications, followed by the English, whose energy made the pursuit a complete victory. At the moment the flight began, both Wolfe and Montcalm fell, mortally wounded. Governor Vaudreuil, in consternation, withdrew hastily to Montreal, and four

The Strength of Quebec.

The Plains of Abraham.

days later, September 17, the garrison he left behind surrendered to the British.

When winter began, Quebec was occupied by 7000 British troops under General Murray, illy prepared to face the bitter cold. Hardship and illness reduced this force by the end of April to 3000 effectives. Down on them now came Lévis, the successor of Montcalm, who had collected the fragments of French military power to the number of 12,000. April 28 Murray gave battle on the Plains of Abraham and was forced back into his lines with a loss of a third of his force engaged. His position seemed desperate when the arrival of British frigates with supplies restored hope and enabled him to drive off Lévis, who now gave his attention to the defense of Montreal, the last French stronghold in Canada.

Quebec Held.

His utmost efforts in this respect were soon demanded, for three expeditions were being prepared to overwhelm him. One under Amherst was to assemble at Oswego and proceed down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, another under Haviland was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, and a third was to be led by Murray up the St. Lawrence from Quebec. The three expeditions were to arrive at Montreal at the same time, and if the plans did not miscarry could be expected to put an end to French rule in New France. The story of American operations against Canada is full of the failure of coöperation where supporting movements had been proposed, but for once we come to the exception. August 24, 1760, Murray was eighteen miles below Montreal, and took such a strong position that he was safe against an attack in detail. September 6 both Haviland and Amherst arrived before the town, and with the aid of Murray's ships the investment was completed. The defenses, good enough against the Indians, were not proof against British cannon; the garrison was only 2500 men, for many of the Canadians had gone home on being promised immunity by the British; and the provisions would suffice for only fifteen days. Under these conditions the French hastened the inevitable by surrendering the place and giving parole not to fight again during the war. Thus was lowered the French flag in Canada September 8, 1760. It is gratifying to add that in Paris, whither they were allowed to go, Vaudreuil, Bigot, and their chief tools were arrested and tried for malfeasance in office. The governor was acquitted for lack of proof, but the false intendant was fined 1,500,000 francs, his ill-gotten pelf confiscated, and he himself exiled for life.

Montreal Taken, 1760.

The struggle thus far had not affected Louisiana, but it now remains to be seen how that too was drawn into the vortex of ruin which affected all French colonies. Spain saw with alarm the progress of British power in America and on the sea, and in 1761 pledged herself in the celebrated Family Compact to treat French enemies as her own enemies. As a consequence,

Spain Involved in the War.

England declared war on her January 4, 1762, and sent a strong expedition against Cuba. August 13 Havana was taken with booty worth $15,000,000; a sum which, however, did not repay the frightful loss of lives from disease in the British army. September 1 of this year a British force took the Philippine Islands, but gave them up when promised a ransom. Impressed by these experiences, Spain was soon willing to make peace. France, utterly exhausted, was equally ready, and the result was the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763.

Before it was signed there was much discussion of terms. England boldly demanded Florida, much to the dismay of Spain, who wished to keep the entrance of the Gulf. Then France, out of consideration for Spain, whom she had persuaded to enter the war, offered England all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi if she would forego the demand for Florida. But England was obdurate; and France gave Louisiana to Spain to recoup her for the loss of the peninsular province. The arrangement was made secretly between the two powers concerned, and was not generally known until long after the Treaty of Paris was signed. France had been spending on Louisiana 300,000 livres a year without a sou in return, and her apparent generosity accorded well with her financial necessities. With Canada and India gone, and her fleet destroyed, Louisiana could not be of value to her.

Treaty of Paris, 1763.

The terms of the general treaty were as follows: Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and all the interior east of the Mississippi, except the so-called Isle d'Orleans near its mouth, were ceded to the British; the West Indian islands of Tobago, Dominica, Granada, and St. Vincent also were ceded to the English, but Martinique and Guadeloupe, which had been conquered, were left to France. England received Florida and gave up Cuba; France lost all her East Indian colonies but Pondicherry and Chandernagore; and France was to retain the right to dry fish on the north and west coasts of Newfoundland, with two small islands off the shore as a shelter for her fishermen.

Terms of the Treaty.

Thus France made her exit from North America, where she had lost her day as a colonizing power. One cannot but admire the bravery with which she attempted large tasks and the generosity with which she succored infant settlements. Her failure was inherent in her own life. Without a large manufacturing interest she was not able to build up a colonial market for her merchandise; and without a surplus population there was little demand for colonies to improve the condition of her farming class. As Spain tried to support colonial development on the mining industry so France wished to make it depend on the fur trade, whose very existence demanded that agriculture should not advance into the continent. Between the farmsteads of the English and the hunting ranges of the interior the clash was inevitable and the issue certain. If Pitt had

The Failure of France.

not, by his foresight and energy, completed the French expulsion in 1760, the colonies themselves must have done it at no very distant date.

It is said, but on doubtful authority, that Choiseul, the French minister who made the Treaty of Paris, remarked that England would do well to leave Canada to France in order that the danger of a French and Indian attack might keep the English colonies dependent on the mother country. It is certain that the idea was often mentioned in 1762. It was so strongly urged by the English interests in the West Indies in order to induce the government to retain all the French islands there, that Franklin wrote a pamphlet to show that it was badly founded. The colonies, he said, were so divided by mutual distrust and varying interests that they would never unite against England. Such might have been the case for many years had not a headstrong king forced them to a union in defense of rights they held dearer than any of the interests which had caused their dissensions.

Was the English Course Wise?

Two Indian wars came as an aftermath of the struggle against France. After the outbreaks of 1711–1716, the Cherokees remained at peace with the English; but the efforts of the French had due influence in arousing their suspicions. A party went rather unwillingly with Forbes against Fort Duquesne, 1759, and some of them deserted. A group of the deserters on their return killed twenty-two whites in North Carolina, and another band stole a number of horses. The whites retaliated by killing the Indians, whereupon the Indians fell on the settlements and slew whom they found. Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina now called out troops and marched to the Indian country with 1500 poorly equipped soldiers. Before he started he was joined by thirty Cherokee chiefs who said they were come to make peace. They had been promised personal immunity, but Lyttleton forced them to go with him to the frontier, and when the murderers of the whites were not delivered up by the tribes, he detained as hostages these envoys of peace, who had trusted his promise. Although he made a new treaty, he was hardly back in Charleston before depredations were resumed. The commandant of the frontier fort in which the hostages were detained was lured out of the gate on pretense of a parley and murdered, and the garrison, angered by this cruelty, slew the hostages.

The Cherokees Begin Hostilities.

The war now became general. Lyttleton was no longer governor, but Bull, acting in his place, sent forward, 1760, Colonel Montgomery with 1650 men, three-fourths of whom were regulars who had opportunely arrived at Charleston. They burned the lower Cherokee towns and killed or captured more than a hundred persons, but were fiercely engaged in an attempt to cross the mountains and fall back to the seaboard, whence the regulars returned to New York to take part in the campaign against Montreal. Their departure encouraged the Indians and sealed

The Campaigns of 1760 and 1761.

the fate of Fort London. The post had been unwisely built in an exposed position beyond the Alleghanies, and its garrison of 200 men could not be relieved. Hunger at last overcame them and they surrendered on condition that they should return home in safety. But the Indians pursued them, slew twenty-six, and took the others prisoners. By 1761 troops could be spared from the north, and General Amherst sent Colonel Grant with 1200 Highlanders to complete the pacification of the Indian country. Grant, joined by militia and friendly Indians until his army numbered 2600, won a costly victory over the Cherokees in June, and then proceeded to destroy their towns and the growing crops. This was a heavy blow, and the chiefs sued for peace. The treaty that followed did not remove Cherokee resentment, as their support of the British showed in the war of the Revolution. In the war of 1760 and 1761 both North Carolina and Virginia raised troops to protect their borders; but the work of vengeance which forced the Cherokees to make peace was done by the regulars, marching from Charleston and aided by the South Carolina militia.

The second conflict with the Indians was the Pontiac War. The Indians of the Northwest recognized their doom when the British seized and held the French posts, and to save themselves formed a confederacy under Pontiac, a capable and ambitious warrior of the Ottowas. Emissaries of France told them that the French would return and subdue the British garrisons, and this gave the red men courage to strike while the new lords of the country were weak. The confederacy was well organized, each tribe promising to fall on and destroy the post nearest to it. The attack was made in May, 1763, and the result was that ten posts from Bedford, Pennsylvania, to Michilimackinac, at the entrance of Lake Michigan, fell to the savages, most of them being entered through treachery, and the garrisons murdered. Detroit and Fort Pitt, however, were warned and held out. The former received supplies by water and defied its foe, though Pontiac himself led the force which invested its land approaches. The latter was saved by Colonel Bouquet. This officer had seen seven years' service against the Indians and knew well how to fight them. He was in Philadelphia when the trouble began, and was ordered to relieve Fort Pitt with 500 Highlanders. Moving rapidly, he approached the scene of Braddock's defeat on August 5. Here he was surrounded by Indians at Bushy Run, and fought fiercely until nightfall. Next morning the Indians resumed the battle, when by a feigned retreat Bouquet drew them into a heedless charge on his baggage train, and turning at the proper moment drove them off in great disorder. Four days later Fort Pitt was reached and relieved, but Bouquet must wait for reënforcements before he could march into the Indian country beyond it. In the following year, with 1500 men, he marched without opposition into

Pontiac War, 1763–1764.

Detroit and Fort Pitt.

The End of the War.

what is now southeastern Ohio as far as the upper Muskingum and made treaties of peace with the Indians of that region, rescuing 200 captured settlers. In a great council at Fort Niagara the Indians of the lake also made a treaty of peace in which they ceded to the English a strip four miles wide on each side of the Niagara river. Pontiac remained hostile until convinced that there was no hope of aid from the French, and in 1766 he, with other recalcitrants, made an unwilling submission at Oswego. Three years later he was slain in the forest near St. Louis by another Indian to whom an English trader had promised a barrel of rum. He was one of the ablest and most patriotic men of his race.

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL PROGRESS IN COLONIES

The Conditions of Settlement

The desire to own land was the impelling cause of most of the early migration to America. Land was sold cheap, but the amount one person might buy was sometimes restricted. Free distribution to settlers was usually made. Such allotments, "importation rights," were as large in some colonies as fifty acres for each adult brought in, and they were allowed to male indented servants at the expiration of term of service. In the South, where money crops could be raised, the tendency was to own large farms; for though the men of a community were usually poor at first, some would be thrifty and would eventually buy up and consolidate into large holdings what had originally been a series of small farms. In New England agriculture was not as profitable as in the South, the soil was stony, the crops were not abundant, and the farms were small. Where the farms were large, population was widely dispersed, and where they were small it was denser.

Distribution of the Land.

In all the colonies the settlers first took up the richest land, generally along the rivers. This was advantageous because the rivers were the best means of transportation. In the southern colonies, in which streams abounded, the land between them came slowly into settlement. This "ridge land" was the home of the poorer people, and the result was that roads came slowly into existence. When constructed, they were merely traced through the forest and became very difficult in wet weather. In the compact settlements of the North roads were early laid out, bridges were built, and inns were provided. But land traveling was not comfortable before the revolution in any part of the colonies.

Roads.

In the royal colony land was granted by the governor and council in the name of the king, in a proprietary colony it was granted either directly or indirectly by the officers exercising a similar jurisdiction. In New England the assembly created trustees of a town with authority to grant the land to settlers. The trustees then met and selected the site for the meeting-house, reserving a portion of the land for a common, and assigning the lots around it. Land not granted was held by the town for common use, as grazing, the taking of firewood, and wood for necessary buildings. From the compact nature of New England settlements the

The New England Town.

towns were relatively small, from ten to fifteen miles across, and most of the settlers were located conveniently near the meetinghouses. When the danger of Indian wars passed and the inhabitants became numerous at the "center" of the town, they began to form outlying villages on the better land in other parts of the town. Sometimes they moved to the frontier and established another town with the consent of the assembly.

The county was the unit of organization in the South. It was from four to ten times as large as the New England town. The frontier county was usually a vast area with only a fringe of settlement on the edge nearest the older settlements. When this fringe thickened a new county was set off still nearer to the frontier. The county was created by the assembly. As the colony grew in wealth, the oldest counties were more conservative than the newer ones and were unwilling to create the latter as rapidly as the growth of population seemed to demand, lest the control of the assembly pass into the hands of "back counties." The early counties were relatively small, and they took pains to have the newer ones very large. As representation was not in proportion to population, the older counties were thus able to keep a large influence in the assemblies. This led to bitter conflicts. As the people of the newer counties were, from Pennsylvania southward, largely of Scotch-Irish stock and poor men, the contest often took the shape of a democracy against an aristocracy. In North Carolina the controversy between the counties was peculiarly bitter, because those in the Albemarle region, the oldest in the province, had five representatives each, while the new ones had only two. The old counties thus had an overweening influence in the assembly, which the governor sought to break down. He finally called the assembly to meet on the Cape Fear, so remote from the Albemarle region that not all of the large delegation from the old counties could attend. The result was that all the Albemarle delegates refused to attend, disputed on the ground of no quorum the legality of the laws passed without them, and refused to pay taxes levied as well as to recognize the legality of a new law apportioning representation. So unpleasant a situation was created that for eight years the wheels of government were nearly at a standstill. Ultimately there was a compromise by which the older counties retained their disproportionate representation and a number of new counties were created.

The Southern County.

By 1760 the opposition between new and old settlements had taken on a territorial character. In Massachusetts, as well as in Virginia and the Carolinas, the wealthy men lived on the coast. As men of education and conservative business instinct, they were at odds with the small farmers of the interior over many questions. They called the popular party "the mob" and its leaders "demagogues" while the popular party

"The Mob," and "the Aristocrats."

called them "aristocrats" and oppressors of the poor. When the revolution was coming to the explosion point, the latter class held back a long time and many of them ultimately repudiated a movement in which were so many of the "demagogues." It must not be forgotten that each side gave an important impulse to our development. One was a conservative force and checked the dangers which came from inexperienced leaders: the other incited to liberty and political equality and checked the tendency of society to settle down into an aristocracy of wealth. This tendency of the newer communities towards democracy has continued throughout our history, steadily following the frontier westward.

Taking up Land.

When an individual had a right to a grant of land, that is, a warrant, he sought a surveyor, a public officer, who ran the bounds of the grant from any ungranted lands open to settlement. The survey with the warrant was returned to the proper officer, in most cases the secretary of the colony, who made a deed which when signed by the governor constituted a legal title. For the warrant, survey, and deed fees were paid; and they constituted a large part of the remuneration of the officers concerned. There were many complaints, especially in the royal provinces, that the fees were exorbitant. In all but trading and fishing communities land speculation was the favorite means of making money. The surveyor, who from his travels into all parts of the forest had opportunity to find the best tracts of ungranted land, was much concerned in the operation, either buying outright and selling later when the advance of population had raised the price, or becoming the agent of some rich man who could make the investment. Many of the great fortunes of the colonies at the beginning of the revolution were derived from land speculation. This was particularly true in the southern colonies, into which immigrants moved rapidly from 1730 to 1775. The shrewd men who bought the frontier land in the early part of this period reaped handsome profits from their ventures.

Population in 1760.

In 1760 the total population of the colonies was 1,596,000, of which New England had 473,000, the middle colonies 405,000, and the South, including Maryland, 718,000. Virginia was the largest colony, with 315,000 inhabitants, and Georgia was the smallest, with 9000. At that time slavery existed everywhere, but in the colonies north of Maryland it had only 10 per cent of the population, while in the others it had 41 per cent. North Carolina alone of the southern colonies had not yielded largely to this form of labor, the slaves being here only 17 per cent of the population, while in South Carolina they were 70 per cent, and in Virginia 47 per cent.

Most of the immigrants to America, both before and after the revolution, were poor people seeking to improve their fortunes. In all the colonies were exceptions to this statement. There were per-

sons who came as officials, or ministers in early New England, and in Virginia were a number of gentlemen adventurers in the Cromwellian days, and always a few superior men to whom the charm of the wilderness was strong; but all these together were a small part of the population. And yet this part had an influence larger than its size would seem to warrant. It contributed the social ideals of a new community. The educated clergy and other leaders of early New England were the models for later clergymen and leading men of colonial birth. The early gentlemen adventurers of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina were the men whom the colonials who became rich sought to imitate. Thus the aim of the South became to found estates like those of the lower English gentry and to reproduce their manners, their sports, and their intellectual life. In New England, sports, manners, and intellectual life had the serious cast of the early Puritans. In every royal colony the governor and other officers sent over from England were very influential in all social matters. The history of American society reveals the evolution of a healthy, earnest, and teachable democracy, forming its social ideals by those of Europe, and seeking to reject what was bad in the old and to improve in its own way that which it had inherited from its own past.

Most Settlers Poor People.

Laboring Classes

In the beginning the colonists had white laborers, persons who arrived with their masters under contract to work for stipulated periods. But when the settlers needed more servants it was difficult to get them in the colony, where any industrious freeman could easily become a proprietor. Orders were accordingly sent to agents in England to send over servants, the employer paying the commission of the agent who secured the servant and the passage money demanded by the ship captain who brought him over. Under these conditions the supply was small, while the demand was ever greater. Colony products were bulky and many ships sailed to America in ballast, and their captains were eager to get cargoes wherever possible. The agents who collected servants were urged to furnish servants and no questions asked about those they produced. Thus grew up the practice of kidnapping, or "spiriting" children, or even adults. They were enticed on board a short time before the ship sailed and were soon beyond the reach of effective protest. Arrived in the colony, the captain delivered the cargo to the planters who paid most. If such a servant was a minor, he was apprenticed to the master who paid his passage under forms prescribed by law. Many instances of hardship occurred in the English ports; for the kidnappers were of the lowest class of criminals and stood on little ceremony in selecting their vic-

White Servants.

Kidnapping.

tims; but most of those whom they sent to America were the children of the laboring class, whose condition in the colony was probably better than that of their parents. After such an apprentice completed his term of service, he was a free man, and in most colonies received a grant of land. In many a community was a man of mark who had come to America in this way.

The free servants who could not pay their passage had the habit of contracting to serve for a term of years the captain who took them to America, and he would transfer the contract to a planter for money. This class made up most of the indented servants. Colonial law fixed the period for which they could be required to serve, usually from three to five years, provided that the master must furnish proper food and clothing and that the servants should each receive a small tract of land when the term of service expired. In some colonies persons who had thus served out their time were called "redemptioners." A third source of labor for the colonies was convicts and "sturdy vagabonds," whom the English authorities sent abroad to be rid of the burden of supporting them. Virginia passed many laws to forbid these importations, but the king vetoed them. Maryland seems to have had little objection to them. Industrial conditions in New England did not favor a large servant class. Neighbors frequently hired themselves to neighbors, or even bound out their children to learn trades, but doing so did not imply a loss of social esteem on the part of the servants. In the colonies in which large plantations were the rule this was otherwise. To be a servant was to belong to a lower social rank than the master, and it was difficult for time and success to remove the stigma. The liberated servant in this part of the country found his refuge in the frontier, where he settled among persons as lowly born as himself and where his future rank was determined by his own exertions.

Voluntarily Indented Servants.

Convicts and Vagabonds.

The three classes named did not furnish sufficient labor for the tobacco and rice growers of the South. Here were two crops for which the world was willing to pay liberally and capable, as the producers thought, of extensive production. On the other hand, everywhere was an abundance of cheap land. Nothing was wanting but labor. The white servants were hard to obtain and rarely served longer than the term of the indenture, so that they must continually be replaced by new ones, who in turn would be away to the frontier in four or five years. Under these conditions negro slaves, already largely used in the Spanish colonies, began to be employed. The first African slaves in America arrived in Virginia in 1619, but they were not satisfactory laborers. They were intractable and unacquainted with the labor requirements of a civilized community. To control them and get them to labor profitably was difficult, and most planters objected to it. The number in the colony

Slaves.

grew so slowly that in 1700 it was only 6000. By this time it was observed that "new negroes," those recently imported from Africa, worked very well if distributed among colony-born negroes; and this reconciled the planters to the use of this form of labor. The wide expansion of tobacco culture fixed the practice of slavery in Maryland and Virginia. The early South Carolinians were chiefly from Barbados, where slavery had already gone through its experimental stage, and they had this kind of labor from the beginning. Slavery existed in the North as well as in the South; for there was at this time very little public opinion against it. But it was not profitable on the small farms of the North, and in this region the slaves were chiefly in the towns as domestic servants or laborers. In 1760 there were only 87,000 blacks north of Maryland to 299,000 in the other colonies.

When England began to have colonies, her law had no provision for slavery. In fact, the institution had nearly died out in later Roman times, and from that period the impression prevailed in Europe that no Christian could be enslaved. Negro slavery existed in Morocco, and when the Spaniards found that Indian slaves succumbed before the hard work in the American mines they introduced it into their colonies. The African has accepted bondage more readily than any other race. The Spaniards found him a satisfactory slave, and their example was followed in the British and French West Indies. In this part of America, therefore, slavery was formed after the ancient model, and the absolute dominion of the master over his slave was generally recognized. In the continental colonies this was not at first the case. Here early slavery was a kind of continuous indented service, the master being required to give his slave proper food and care. But slowly a code of laws evolved which recognized slavery and gave it a legal status.

Slavery, the Spanish Type.

The English Type.

The settlement of South Carolina chiefly by men of Barbados introduced the West Indian type of slavery on the continent; and the success which followed undoubtedly stimulated the spread of slavery in the tobacco colonies. In 1739, when the number of slaves in South Carolina largely exceeded that of the whites, there was a serious slave outbreak. One result was a revision of the slave code in the colony, and this example was followed in other colonies. Out of these codes one may gather the following general features. All negroes or persons of mixed negro blood were slaves whose mothers were slaves. They could be punished by their masters, and if one died from chastisement where malice was not evident the slayer was not punished. But maliciously killing a slave was forbidden. For serious offenses, as murder, arson, theft, and maiming, the slave was not punished by the master, but he was tried by a court of two or three justices and several freeholders, who took such evidence as they saw fit, and, sitting as a jury but without form of

The Colonial Slave Code.

law, gave the verdict. For minor offences the usual punishment was thirty-nine lashes. A negro could not testify against a white person, the assumption being that all negroes, bond or free, were hostile to the whites and unreliable witnesses, either from prejudice or from mental incapacity to observe accurately. Slaves were not allowed to go about without written permission, they might not have firearms, and restrictions were placed on their trading and their meeting together. At this time the fear of slave insurrections was as great as later, and it was provided that conspiracy against the whites should be punished by death. If a negro showed violence to a white person, he might be whipped, or even killed if the case were aggravated. The slave codes of this epoch remained in force with slight modification until the general revision which followed the inauguration of the abolition movement in 1831.

The slave code was made to meet a peculiar condition. If men of a lower stage of civilization were brought into the colonies, they must not, it was held, be admitted to the same privileges as the whites. That this was the opinion of all parts of the country is shown by the regulations enforced in all parts of the North where there were many negroes. Boston, the ports in Rhode Island and Connecticut, Philadelphia, the town of New York and the great plantations along the Hudson held most of the slaves in the North. In all these places restrictions were imposed on the slave's right to go about at night, and his right to traffic and to have arms; he was tried by special tribunals, and freely whipped by his master.

Colonial Industry

Agriculture was the most extensive industry. Every colony produced its own food in normal times, and most of them had some for export. The sugar islands, foreign as well as British, offered a good market for such supplies, for they found it most profitable to devote themselves exclusively to their one staple. To them the middle colonies sent great quantities of flour, pork, and beef, and New England sent potatoes, vegetables, and fish. From Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina went out tobacco for the world, and from South Carolina rice and indigo. The Carolinas also exported tar, pitch, and turpentine. Lumber, either as sawed timber or as boards and staves, was exported from all the colonies. The masts which came from the New England forests were famous in western Europe.

Agriculture and Lumber.

Manufactures.

Manufacturing in the modern sense was unknown in the colonies, but it must be remembered that the factory system had not yet developed in Europe. In England weavers, shoemakers, and other handworkers lived in villages and followed their trades solely. In the North most of the farmers knew some trade which they followed when they could not work on the farms.

Thus the coarser grades of cloth, hats, shoes, joiner's work, tools, and nails were made in the colonies. In the South each large plantation had its artisans, many of them slaves. Importations were usually the better grades of cloth, ironware, implements, etc., and articles which in the very nature of things the colonists could not make, as queensware, cutlery, silks, articles of luxury, and wines. Iron ore was found and smelted from New Jersey to Virginia. In 1755 pig iron to the amount of 3425 tons was sent to England. Rum was extensively manufactured in New England. It was made out of the molasses which the sugar islands gave in exchange for fish, lumber, and food products. It is estimated that early in the eighteenth century 1,260,000 gallons of rum were made in Boston annually. Until the whiskey of the Scotch-Irish supplanted it late in that century, this form of spirits was the common tipple in America. It was sold everywhere, north and south, and largely exported to Africa, where it was exchanged for slaves.

Rum.

England made many restrictions on colonial manufactures; for she was determined to keep the American market open for her own inhabitants. In 1700 the colonies learned that they might not export woollen goods, or send them from one colony to another, or send them from place to place in the same colony. In 1732 the exportation of hats and their intercolonial sale were forbidden by an act of parliament. This was done at the instance of the London hat makers, for it was known that the colonists made beaver hats cheaper than the same articles could be made in England, and were beginning to gain the market for them both in England and on the continent. The growth of the iron industry caused alarm to the English iron makers, and to satisfy them it was enacted in 1750 that the colonies should export to England only pig and bar iron and that no more mills for the higher iron products should be erected in the colonies.

British Restrictions on Colonial Manufactures.

Fishing was an important industry in New England. The fact that French and British fishermen reaped a large harvest in adjacent waters naturally led the colonists to seek to share it. When the first settlers arrived, the cod was found as far south as the cape which now bears its name; but being taken in large numbers, it retreated northward until finally it must be sought off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. In the early stages a rowboat and some lines sufficed to outfit a fisherman. When one must go to the northern waters, a larger vessel and a crew of several men were necessary. Fishing then became a matter of capital and organization. Sometimes the boats were owned by those who sailed them, the crew serving for shares. Sometimes they were owned by capitalists, who gave the crew shares in proportion to the value of the ship. The early spring witnessed the departure of the fishing fleet. If luck was good, the craft came in early and were even known to make a second

Fisheries.

voyage in the same season. The life was perilous and demanded the best qualities of character and physical endurance. It was an excellent school of democracy. By the end of the colonial period share fishing was being replaced by capitalistic enterprise. The fish merchant, who bought and exported the catch, now became a great factor in the industry. He sent out the ships, hired the crews, and reaped the larger part of the reward. Alongside of the cod fisheries developed whaling. This industry was at first confined to off-shore fishing, the waters around Nantucket being especially full of these great fish. But here, too, in time it was necessary to follow the quarry into distant seas. Large ships were built, voyages became lengthened from weeks to months, and from months to years, and at last every ocean was the hunting ground of these hardy New Englanders. The whaling industry lost much of its prosperity with the discovery of mineral oils in the central West, about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Trade

In the northern colonies trade established itself in much the same way as in England, that is, trading towns on shore and river supported a merchant class which distributed merchandise to, and collected the products from, the people around them. Also, there arose such large importing centers as Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The growth of these places was rapid, for each was the commercial metropolis of a large and rapidly developing back country. In 1760 Boston and Philadelphia each had a population of 20,000. New York came next with 10,000; Charleston, whose merchants exported rice to many parts of Europe, had 9000, and was the home of much wealth and luxury. Boston's size was not what might be expected from the oldest city of the group, located in a large commercial colony. The explanation, however, is not far to seek. The New England trade was shared by a number of smaller towns, as Salem, Marblehead, Gloucester, Newport, Providence, Portsmouth, Falmouth, New Haven, New London, and Hartford. It was not until the era of manufactures that Boston by becoming the financial center of a large industrial area attained her modern predominance.

Towns.

Meanwhile, Virginia, and to a certain extent Maryland, had a commercial development of their own, the basis of which was the tobacco trade. No town of importance was established. In Maryland the rise of Baltimore begins with the settlement of the Susquehannah valley in the first decades of the eighteenth century, and in 1760 it had less than 5000 inhabitants. The planters of this region dealt directly with London or Bristol commission agents. Ships came to their plantation wharves, took aboard the year's crop of tobacco, and returned

Trade in Virginia and Maryland.

next year with the proceeds in merchandise ordered by the seller. The river planters were the rich men of their communities. Behind them on the less fertile high land were the poorer farmers whose small crops were not profitably consigned to English agents. The large planters, therefore, became traders, buying the tobacco of their poorer neighbors and opening plantation stores in which the small farmers bought necessary merchandise. Under these circumstances, competition in trade was difficult, and towns could not develop. More than once the governor by instructions from the crown tried to get laws passed in the Virginia assembly to encourage them, but the planters, who controlled that body, were able to defeat his efforts. In 1760 the largest Virginia town was Norfolk, whose prosperity arose chiefly from the trade which came to it from the Albemarle section of North Carolina, where the poor harbors prevented the coming of ocean-going ships. Rice grew in the Cape Fear section which, after its settlement about 1725, had a thriving export trade from Wilmington; for its harbor was adequate for the ships of the day.

Spite of the navigation acts (see page 83) colonial trade prospered. These laws, in fact, benefited colonial shipping in some respects, since they allowed it to share the monopoly due to excluding foreign ships from the British trade. Moreover, they left fish, food products for the West Indies, lumber, and many other articles, untouched. Of the "enumerated commodities" of the act of 1660 only one, tobacco, was grown in the continental colonies. The price of this article, it is true, fell steadily after 1660, and much suffering ensued in Virginia and Maryland; and this was of great significance, since tobacco aggregated about half of the total colonial exports. But with the operation of the law of 1660 went a series of duties on tobacco in England by which in Queen Anne's time a pound paid six and a third pence to the royal treasury, which was three times the price of the commodity in Virginia. At the same time there was a vast increase in the colonial supply. It is impossible to say to which of these three causes one should attach most importance in accounting for the distress of the planters.

Navigation Acts and Trade.

The Tobacco Trade.

As time passed other articles were added to the "enumerated commodities." Rice was placed on the list in 1706, which raised the price so much that South Carolina lost her trade to Spain and Portugal, one-tenth of her entire exportation. This, however, was regained in 1730, when parliament opened the trade to ports south of Cape Finisterre. In 1706 naval stores and molasses were also added to the list; but a bounty was placed on the former, and of the latter only that had been exported which formerly was brought into continental ports in exchange for products in the West Indies. In 1722 copper, of which very little was produced, and beaver and other

History of the "Enumerated Commodities."

skins were placed on the "enumerated" list. Undoubtedly these laws limited the development of trade, and they raised the price of merchandise by requiring that all goods imported into the colonies must come from British ports. But spite of these restrictions colonial commerce developed rapidly. Fish, food products, lumber, and many less important things were not directly affected by the navigation laws.

Commerce Grows Spite of Restrictions.

Moreover, one must not forget that the navigation acts were never strictly enforced. Their very existence made it profitable to violate them; for both trader's profits and freights were enhanced in the prohibited channels. The most alluring field of such operations was the French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies and in Central and South America. Various means of violating the law were used. One was to bribe officials to issue permits to trade with foreign sugar colonies, another was to clear for a British port and visit a foreign place under a false registry. On returning home a few casks of British sugar on the top of a large quantity of French sugar would satisfy a conniving customs inspector; and if a vessel was seized now and then because the game did not go smoothly, the ordinary profits were so great that the owner could stand the loss. Before condemning these people we should remember that they considered the laws unjust and that many British officials in the colonies themselves winked at their violation. The same conditions followed the enactment of the navigation acts in England, where it was estimated that 40,000 persons were engaged in illegal trade.

Evasion of the Navigation Laws.

In 1733 parliament passed the "Molasses Act," laying prohibitory duties on molasses, sugar, and rum made in foreign colonies and imported into the British colonies in America. It grew out of the complaint of the British sugar islands that the French and Dutch islands sold their molasses to the New England rum manufacturers, who, it was intended, should now take their raw product from the British colonies, whatever the price. The British islands did not produce enough molasses for the rum makers, and the situation thus created was preposterous. The law became practically a dead letter soon after it was passed. Some ingenious Yankees avoided it by sailing from Jamaica with cargoes of empty casks formally cleared as molasses. Stopping at a French island these barrels would be filled, and the Jamaica clearance protected them on the return to New England. The "Molasses Act" did much to turn New Englanders against England and to teach them to despise her laws.

The "Molasses Act," 1733.

The slave trade was an important feature of the commerce of Boston, Rhode Island ports, New York, and Philadelphia. Laden with rum, a vessel would sail for Guinea, the Congo, or Madagascar, and exchange her cargo for slaves, palm oil, or gold dust. The slaves,

"black ivory," were bought in 1676 for three pounds each and were worth seventeen in Jamaica. By 1760 the demand for them had raised the prices so that they now cost twelve pounds each in Africa and brought thirty-five in Jamaica. A ship that carried two hundred negroes under these conditions netted a handsome profit to her owner. Before 1698 the slave trade was monopolized by the Royal African Company; but in this year it was thrown open, and the colonial shipowners took an active part in it. Most of the slave ships sailed from Africa to the West Indies or to the southern English colonies. The slave trade necessarily inflicted horrors on the imported negroes. They were crowded into holds without ventilation. If a storm was encountered, the hatches were nailed down and left so until it abated, when the hungry and thirsty wretches were allowed on deck again, and at such a time there were usually dead bodies to be brought out. The "Middle Passage," as the voyage was called, was long a synonym of terror; and this was true in spite of efforts of the slave's captain to reduce the hardship. For since his slaves sold best if they seemed healthy and strong, it was to his interest to feed and care for them as well as possible.

The Slave Trade.

Race Elements in Colony Planting

The beginning of all the colonies but New York and Delaware was English. The English life and law was the rule, or became so when the foreign planted colonies fell into English hands. New England, dominated by peculiar ideals, received only a small stream of immigration after the restoration of the Stuarts, 1660. It remained the most English of the great sections of America until the era of manufacturing began about 1808. The English stock filled the eastern parts of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and most of New Jersey, while it mingled with the Dutch of New York and Delaware and was the controlling element in early Pennsylvania. But in all the middle and southern colonies were many non-English persons who came singly or in small groups. Such was the situation about 1680. At that time opened a new era of American immigration. Into the valleys that lie east of the Alleghanies, from southern New York to Georgia, came a vast tide of settlers — some of them colony born, but most of them of foreign Protestant origin. The foreigners are to be distinguished in the following groups:

Early Colonists Mostly English.

Other Sources of Population.

1. *The Huguenots.* They began to arrive with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. They settled in several colonies, but the Santee river region of South Carolina received the largest number. Here in a compact settlement they preserved their own church organization, accumulated fortunes, and became a center from which a French influence was transmitted to other parts

Huguenots.

of the colony. Some of the leading soldiers, politicians, merchants, and literary men of South Carolina were of this stock. Another Huguenot settlement was on the James river, near Richmond, Virginia; and another, on Pamplico river in North Carolina, began well but was nearly extinguished in the Indian war of 1711. There were also many of this faith among the settlers in New York. Coming singly or in small numbers, Huguenots settled in many places. Of all the great European nations France has contributed the smallest portion of the American population.

2. *The Germans.* The Mennonites, German Quakers, were induced to come to Pennsylvania soon after it became a colony. The move-

Germans.

ment began in 1683 with the settlement of Germantown by a group under Rev. Daniel F. Pastorious. About 1710 a great wave of German immigration began, the origin of which was the devastation of the Palatinate by Louis XIV of France. Most Palatines were Protestants, and a large number fled to England for succor. Huddled together in tents, objects of charity, it seemed well to send them to the colonies. The government gave aid, and five hundred were sent to the help of de Graffenreid, who was taking a small Swiss colony to found New Berne, North Carolina. The Indian massacre in 1711 fell heavily on this settlement, many of whose members fell or fled; but a small remainder continued on the spot. In the same year three thousand Palatines arrived in New York, where Governor Hunter set them to preparing pine trees for making tar. The industry proved a failure, and the Palatines moved to the Schoharie valley, where the Mohawks sold them land. When the colonial authorities demanded that they also have English deeds from their hands, a large number refused, and moved to Pennsylvania, settling near Reading. In this migration was the father of the noted Conrad Weiser, long prominent as an intermediary between the whites and the Indians. By this time the Pennsylvanians had discovered the possibilities of the German peasantry as a source of indented labor. Plausible agents went everywhere in the Rhine valley, proclaiming the riches of the province. They collected great numbers who articled came to Philadelphia, where they were transferred to agents who led them about the colony until they were disposed of to the farmers. The German "redemptioners" suffered much hardship, as did most of the indented servants who came to the colonies; but they had good powers of resistance, and, their service ended, they settled into sturdy and thrifty citizens. Not all the German immigrants were servants, however. Many came as small farmers, or artisans. The Pennsylvania counties of Berks and Lancaster, and the Lehigh and Lebanon valleys received most of this stock, and in 1760 they were about one-third of the population of the colony. They were divided into many sects, and clung tenaciously to their language. From the Pennsylvania settlements an overflow reached Virginia, in the Shenandoah

valley, and North Carolina, where they made a large portion of the population of the Yadkin and Catawba valleys. Among the Germans a prominent group were the Moravians, followers of Huss, who after a discouraging attempt in Georgia settled Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from which a colony about the middle of the century settled Salem, in North Carolina. Many Germans moved from Pennsylvania into New Jersey.

3. *The Scotch-Irish.* It was also Penn's liberal policy which first turned these people toward America. They were the descendants of those Scotch Presbyterians whom James I settled in North Ireland, hoping thus to turn that country from Catholicism. After a century of conflict with a barren soil and unfriendly surroundings they were as poor as when they began, and the native Irish were no whit less Catholic. Seasoned by this experience they made the best frontiersmen in America, where both natural and human environment was more favorable than in Ireland. They began to come to Pennsylvania in considerable numbers early in the eighteenth century, settling in Lancaster county and to the west of it as far as Pittsburg. From that region they turned into New Jersey, or crossed the narrow part of Maryland into Virginia, moving thence into North Carolina. By 1760 they were going into every valley in this region, and another stream, coming from Charleston, was filling the South Carolina uplands. The sons of these immigrants, still loving the pioneer life with its perils and its rewards, passed over the Alleghanies and laid the foundations of Kentucky and Tennessee. Of this stock came John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, and many another important leader.

The Scotch-Irish.

4. *Minor Groups.* Besides the Dutch in New York and the Swedes in Delaware one ought also to remember the Swiss. If but few of them remained in de Graffenried's settlement at New Berne, North Carolina, a still larger number settled and survived in Pennsylvania. Speaking the same language, most of them were confounded with the Germans. Another distinctive element was the Scotch Highlanders, who came in large bands to the Cape Fear valley after the failure of their cause at Culloden, 1745. Like the Scotch-Irish, they were stout Presbyterians. Scotch traders were found in every port. The same was true, but to a less extent, of the Jews. In New York, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia these shrewd traders of both races were important factors in business. The Welsh were not a large colonizing race, but small settlements were found in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and perhaps other colonies. The Irish, as distinguished from the Scotch-Irish, furnished no distinct colony group of importance; but they contributed largely to the laboring class from the earliest times, and were widely distributed.

Other Sources.

But the best colonizers were native-born colonists. Every settled

community produced men of adventurous disposition, to whom the forest was more attractive than the farmsteads of the East. Selling their lands, if they had any, they turned westward where axe and rifle would enable them to found homes and enjoy freedom in a new settlement. They were not thrifty, and they have left few memorials except the paths they made and the fields they cleared, but they did important and lasting work for posterity.

The American-born Frontiersmen.

Religion in the Colonies

The Puritan churches in New England, and the Established Church elsewhere were the strongest religious organizations in the colonies. Along with them went a large number of smaller churches, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Dutch Reform, and Baptist. This enumeration does not include the Roman Catholics, who were numerous only in Maryland. After the first days of settlement most of the immigrants came to America from purely economic motives. They took land where they wished, and for years a new community might care little for church or baptism. But as it became populous the churches concerned were apt to begin to gather up their own people into congregations, to establish meeting-places, and to send preachers. This was especially true of the settlement of the interior. Too much cannot be said in appreciation of these efforts as a civilizing influence. Often the preacher was the only man from the outside world who ever visited the valley in which his flock was located. He was usually the herald of schools, and the counselor of social reform.

The Work of the Churches.

Creating two royal provinces in New England — Massachusetts and New Hampshire — weakened Puritanism there. Anglican churches appeared in the principal towns, and in them the royal governors and their friends, to the horror of the stricter Puritans, instituted the celebration of Christmas and Easter, as well as funerals and marriages according to the elaborate ceremonies of the English Church. Anglicans also protested against being taxed by the towns to pay the Puritan ministers' salaries; and it was finally enacted in Massachusetts and Connecticut that this burden should be remitted when there was an Anglican organized congregation in the town in question.

The Anglican Church in New England.

But the Puritan régime received its strongest check from internal causes. By 1690 the original settlers were dead. The new generation was American-born and did not feel so keenly as their fathers the old resentment toward the Anglican Church. Nor did they hold so strictly to the older dogmas. At the head of this modernist feeling was Harvard College and some of the Boston ministers. Opposed to it was a reactionary party, regretting the decay of the old faith, and striving under the

Weakening of Early Puritanism.

lead of Increase and Cotton Mather to bring back the existing generation to the older faith. This party was strong in the rural towns. It was through its predominance that the witchcraft incident of 1688–1693 stained the page of Massachusetts history.

During the Middle Ages, all Christendom believed in witchcraft and voiced in laws the Biblical injunction, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The Puritans, accustomed to interpret the Bible literally, accepted this as final; and in the colonies as well as in England they thought death should be the penalty for witchcraft. It is for opposing witchcraft with death that history condemns the ruling party in Massachusetts, but it should be content to condemn the excessive and blind zeal with which the law was executed in this particular case. New England Puritans believed thoroughly in the guidance of God. When, for example, their charter was threatened the council implored divine enlightenment and believed that God wished them to resist. For all that, the charter was lost. This but increased the despair of those who saw everywhere a relaxation of the pure faith of their fathers. The ravages of the Indians were not forgotten before this new calamity was upon them. To the stricter party it seemed that the anger of God was heavy on his people, and the natural consequence was a heightening of mysticism.

The Existence of Witches Generally Conceded.

Puritan Faith.

Circumstances turned this tendency of the time so that it hit upon witchcraft. About 1680 a number of clergymen around Boston began to investigate the history of witchcraft in New England. A short time later Increase Mather, in a book called "Illustrious Providences," described the nature of witchcraft, and his pedantic son, Cotton Mather, desiring to study the subject experimentally, began to gather data for a book on "The Wonders of the Invisible World," a discussion of the "nature, number, and operations of the devils." In 1688 two children of Boston declared themselves bewitched by an Irish laundress, who was tried and executed. He took the two girls to his own house, observed their actions, and published his conclusions in 1689. Thus the public mind was made ready for the sad affair at Salem.

The Mathers and Witchcraft.

In a village (now Danvers) in the town of Salem some girls who had been reading about and discussing witchcraft began to act in the strange ways bewitched persons were said to act, and they alleged that certain friendless old persons had cast spells upon them. The pastor of the town accepted their statement and demanded the punishment of the witches. Investigation was had, but the whole community was so excited that a cool judgment was impossible, and the verdict of ministers and laymen was that witches, emissaries of the devil, were brazenly established in the village. Many accused persons were arrested, while the village and several other communities held days of fast and prayer to avoid

The Outbreak in Salem.

this additional infliction of divine anger. Then the governor was requested to appoint a special high court to try the imprisoned ones. He complied, and in the summer of 1692 nineteen persons were convicted and executed for witchcraft. By this time the people of the country were in terror of the witch-hunters, and many persons when accused admitted guilt and sought to escape punishment by throwing the blame on others. The court took "spectral" evidence, *i.e.* when a "bewitched" person declared he saw an alleged witch coming in the form of a yellow bird it was held good evidence, though no one else could say he saw a yellow bird. To declare that the prosecutions were foolish was to bring down a charge of witchcraft on oneself. At first only miserable old men and women were accused. But in time people of high social position were aimed at, one of them being the wife of the governor himself. At last public opinion underwent a revulsion, the special court was dissolved, and the prisons were emptied. After a while reason resumed sway and the conservative leaders suffered a loss of influence.

The doctrines of the liberals, however, caused dismay in many quarters. One of the innovations was a relaxation of the old doctrine of conversion. In 1662 it had been agreed that conversion was not essential to church membership. In a régime in which civil status depended on church relations this was rather a natural conclusion. But it found steady opposition with those who insisted that the ancient faith should be preserved. It was scornfully referred to as "The Halfway Convenant." It was even declared by the more venturesome of the party that many ministers had not been converted. In 1734 there began in Northampton, Massachusetts, through the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, a great revival, the foundation of which was the necessity of conversion. The preacher was eloquent and fervid, and under his fiery words many persons were convcted of sin, fell into trances, or shouted joyfully in the assurance of forgiveness. The meetings attracted attention throughout western Massachusetts, and much was done to create a more fervent spiritual life. In 1740, when the fame of the Northampton meetings was still fresh, George Whitefield, former associate of the Wesleys and a most remarkable preacher, arrived in New England. At first he was received favorably by all parties and his meetings, attended by immense crowds, resulted in professions of conversion by many thousands. His strong insistence on the necessity of conversion at last aroused the opposition of the liberal clergy. He replied in kind, and soon the colony was divided into two religious factions. The same result appeared in Connecticut. Both Harvard and Yale colleges were opposed to the revival in its later stages. Whitefield is not prominent in the movement after 1745, but he was followed by many earnest preachers who had less ability. The upshot was a separatist movement, the seceders largely joining the

The "Halfway Covenant."

The "Great Awakening."

Baptists. The "Great Awakening" was also strong on Long Island and in New Jersey, where many New Englanders had settled.

In this connection one must not forget the significance of Rhode Island in the cause of toleration. To Roger Williams and his followers was due the steady assertion of this theory, in the face of the strict Puritan conformity in the adjacent colonies. Small as his colony was, it was a safe refuge for all who demanded freedom of worship. He received the Quakers and refused to persecute them, although he believed their doctrines false and dangerous. The seed he sowed bore fruit many years afterwards. Rhode Island, through this course, became a home of sects, and their clashing purposes often produced social confusion, but the religious history of America could not well do without their influence.

Religious Freedom in Rhode Island.

The English Church was established by law in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. In the first it was recognized in the beginning of of the colony's existence. At this time the Puritans had not begun to leave the Church of England, and the result was that "Low Church" forms were planted in this, the oldest colony, the effects of which survive to this day. But dissenters were not tolerated, and in 1643 a law, passed under the influence of Governor Berkeley, forbade any other than an Anglican minister to conduct religious services in the colony. Late in the century the Baptists began to appear, and seem to have suffered little inconvenience. The coming of the Scotch-Irish, all of them Presbyterians, in the eighteenth century made matters worse. At first they were ignored by the religious authorities, but when traveling preachers appeared and began to gather them and any others whom they could influence into churches the Anglican pastors protested. The ministers were arrested because they had no licenses, but the juries generally acquitted them. Thus broke down the attempt to exclude all but the Anglican faith from Virginia. By 1760 the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers were well planted in the colony.

The English Church in Virginia.

In the beginning, Maryland, though settled by Catholics, required no religious test of the colonists. In 1649, when Puritanism was supreme in England, the assembly passed an act for religious toleration. If it was passed, as seems probable, to enable Baltimore to continue in possession as proprietor, it at least was a good example. But it did not satisfy the Protestants, who were a large majority of the population; and in 1692 and 1702 they carried laws establishing the English Church, followed by severe laws against the Roman Catholics. South Carolina established Anglicanism in 1706, after a long struggle with the dissenters, the victory being won at last by a combination with the Huguenots, who were in return given the status of an establishment in the parishes in which they were the large majority of the population.

In Maryland and Carolinas.

In North Carolina a law to establish the church was adopted about the same time by manipulation during the troublous era of the Cary Rebellion, but there were so few adherents to the Anglican Church in the colony that it was enforced in only three or four parishes. In 1765 there were only five Anglican clergymen in the province. In these colonies the law provided for parishes, usually identical with the counties and for a tax paid by all to support the clergymen. The parish affairs were left to vestries, self-perpetuating in Virginia and North Carolina, but chosen by the freeholders in Maryland and South Carolina. There was much complaint about the morals of the established clergy in Virginia and Maryland, "Cock-fighting parsons" being the term with which posterity dubbed them. Some of the clergymen seem to have fairly won the epithet.

In other Colonies.

In New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware no laws could be passed to establish one form of religion. Here the dissenters prevailed, each racial element having its own religious forms to which were added many others of non-racial origin. Pennsylvania was particularly concerned with them. "Africa is not more full of monsters," wrote a horrified Anglican clergyman, "than Pennsylvania is of sects." In New York the governor tried to give the Anglican Church the position of an establishment by limiting the right of ministers of other churches to preach. The attempt failed, but he got the assembly to give certain churches the right of support by public taxation. The British Toleration act of 1689 giving liberty of worship to dissenters in England and Wales, but in no way favoring the Catholics, had its reaction in America. It was reënacted in Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, and in other colonies. Feeling in England and America was then strong against the Catholics, who were believed to be plotting to regain England through the restoration of the Stuarts. Virginia required them to take the test-oath if they gave evidence or held office; New York and Massachusetts, with eyes on the missionaries to the Indians, forbade a Catholic priest within their respective jurisdictions. Maryland, although only about 3000 out of a total population of 40,000 were Catholics, forbade the public celebration of the Roman services, nor could any of that faith teach school or purchase lands.

Treatment of the Catholics.

The administration of the Anglican Church was under the direction of the Bishop of London, who ordained ministers for the provinces. In 1689 he adopted the policy of having a commissary to represent him in a colony, James Blair being appointed for Virginia and Thomas Bray for Maryland. A commissary had the right to inquire into the conduct of the clergy, but he could not dismiss an incumbent. In 1701 was organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a missionary organization which sent ministers to most of the colonies. The reports of these missionaries are an important source of knowledge of colonial social conditions.

The Bishop of London.

Education and Culture in the Colonies

In another place this book treats of the origin of the New England public school system, probably the chief educational institution of the day (see page 476). Aside from that one must notice the beginning of the American college and the general attitude of the people toward middle schools. The first step toward providing higher education in any continental English colony was taken by the liberal group of which Sir Edwin Sandys was leader, when in 1620 a university was decreed for Henrico, in Virginia. A beginning was actually made, a teacher was employed, and funds were subscribed, but the Indian massacre of 1622 wiped out all traces of town and university. As the enterprise had depended on philanthropic gentlemen in England, who now lost control of the colony, and as it had little support by the people in Virginia, it was not revived.

Early Schools.

The next step was taken by the general court of Massachusetts, which in 1636 voted 400 pounds for a "shoale or colledge" to educate the English and Indians in "knowledge and Godliness." In 1638 Rev. John Harvard died, leaving the college a legacy of books and money, and from him the institution was called Harvard College. In 1650 it was formally incorporated. The town in which it was situated was called Cambridge, from the English university town in which several of the Massachusetts ministers had studied. Two degrees were offered, Bachelor of Arts, for which the requirement was ability to read the Old and New Testaments in the originals and to translate them into Latin; and Master of Arts, for which seven years' study was necessary, as in Cambridge and Oxford. In a new colony it was not always possible to live up to these excellent standards, but for over half a century Harvard was the only center of learning in America, and it furnished New England during this time with a body of well-taught ministers.

Harvard College Founded, 1636.

By 1700 Harvard was identified with the religious liberals, spite of the fact that Increase Mather was its president. This displeased the conservatives, who were at length rejoiced to know that a new college, sound in theology, was in 1701 established in Connecticut. Eli Yale, who had been governor of Madras, gave it a sum of money, and in 1718 it was called Yale College. After tentative location at several places, it was in 1716 definitely placed at New Haven. Its governing body and faculty were required to accept the Saybrook Platform, a statement of faith formulated by a legislative commission and adopted by the assembly in 1708. Yale maintained outward conformity to this type of orthodoxy for a century, but by 1750 it had advanced far on the road of liberalism.

Yale College Founded, 1701.

In 1691 Commissary Blair arrived in London to try to get a royal charter and to raise funds for a college in Virginia. When he broached the matter to Attorney-General Seymour, whose aid he needed, he was asked why the colony desired a college. The answer was that it would furnish an educated ministry to save the souls of the colonists. "Souls!" exclaimed Seymour, "D—n your Souls! Make tobacco!" But the commissary had great Scotch persistence, his request succeeded, and in 1693 a royal charter was issued for William and Mary College. It created a college and "free school" under the auspices of the Anglican Church. Commissary Blair was its first president, and its professors were clergymen. It had a large influence in colonial Virginia. Williamsburg, where it was located, soon became the capital of the colony and an attractive colonial society grew up under the protection of the governor and the college. For some years the "free school," free only in the sense that it admitted all students who met the intellectual and financial requirements, was the chief feature. When the curriculum of the college was organized, it had less Hebrew and Syriac than Harvard, but there was more of general culture.

William and Mary College Founded, 1693.

Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century Anglicanism and the two branches of New England Puritanism had each its college. Fifty years later other religious organizations were developed so strongly that they also could venture to establish seats of learning. The first of these was the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, established in 1746. Its support was Presbyterian, and it drew largely for a hundred years from the Scotch-Irish population extending from New Jersey southward. It is probable that the Great Awakening stimulated its creation. By this time the desire for colleges as expressions of local pride had come into existence; and in 1749 the University of Pennsylvania was founded, in 1754 King's College, now Columbia, in 1764 Rhode Island College, now Brown University, and in 1769 Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. In all these institutions except the University of Pennsylvania the chief impulse to found the college came from a church. Higher education at the time found its support in America in the necessity for the education of the ministers. In the charters of Yale, William and Mary, Princeton, King's (Anglican), and Brown (Baptist) arrangements were made to perpetuate the influence of the respective churches which founded them. Higher education in America, now so well able to stand on its own feet, was born of religion and long nourished by it.

Other Colonial Colleges.

The Churches and Higher Education.

As to subjects taught, the colleges began with the high ideal of reproducing English college curricula. Harvard is supposed to have been modeled after Emanuel College, Cambridge, where some Massachusetts men had studied. But the wilderness does not favor intel-

lectual culture. The Emanuel men eventually passed away, and a colony-born generation took their places. Neither here nor elsewhere was actual education higher than in a good modern preparatory school. The colleges, like other features of American life, began low and developed slowly out of their own experience. The very conditions around them made them in colonial times but large academies, but they have gradually lifted themselves out of these conditions.

The Curriculum.

The southern and middle colonies had a few public schools, but private schools were widely established. Often they were taught by clergymen. In the towns, as Philadelphia and New York, schools were early established. In the South the planters coöperated in supporting schools for their own children. The subjects taught were elementary. The elements of Latin and Greek were given to those who sought to enter a college. How much this was may be seen in John Adams's entrance examination at Harvard in 1751. He was required to write a good hand and with the aid of a Latin grammar and dictionary to translate a piece of English into Latin.

The Middle Schools.

Cultured men were found in the colonies from the beginning. Probably they were more numerous in the early years of a colony's history, because the contact with England was then closest. In the first fifty years of her existence Virginia saw the production of many books about her history; in the second fifty years the output was smaller. The richest planters of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina educated their sons in England. Colonel William Byrd, of Virginia, a man of fine mental gifts, was trained in England and Holland, though not in a university, and spent many years in London, where he had some of the leading literary men for his associates. His old age he spent in Virginia, where he relieved the tedious hours by writing some of the sprightliest English prose that colonial America produced. Philadelphia was distinguished for a group of scientists, chief of whom were Franklin and James A. Logan. Boston was the center of an indigenous literary movement. It showed little immediate English influence and was, undoubtedly, the flowering of New England culture, nourished faithfully by Harvard and the congregational ministry. Several of the royal governors were notable friends of culture. But in this field we must not assert too much. Poets and essayists we had, and a few historians; but they rarely rise into high rank.

Colonial Culture.

Local Government in the Colonies

Three types of loyal government appeared in the English colonies; the county, the town, and the mixed type. The first came with the settlement of Virginia and was an adaptation of the English county

to Virginia conditions. The county was a unit of representation in the lower house of the assembly. Over it was a sheriff and a lieutenant-colonel of the militia. It had local justices of the peace who were appointed by the governor and council, as a rule men of social and political prominence. They held the county court of quarter sessions, which was both an administrative and judicial body. In the former capacity it supervised the roads, apportioned taxes, cared for county property, and looked after any general business relating to the county. As a court it tried minor cases, although few justices were lawyers. Sheriff, lieutenant-colonel, and clerk of the court were generally appointed by the governor. In the southern county, as normally organized, the only elective office was member of the assembly. He was chosen by the freeholders, all meeting at one voting precinct, the ballot being *viva voce*. Under such conditions the governor with the council had great power. He selected the county officials from the leading families, and they usually controlled the election of assemblyman, who in turn became the governor's adviser as to the further appointment of county officials. The office-holding oligarchy of a southern county was an aristocratic influence, genuinely English in character, usually honest and efficient, and of sound American principles, as the local history of the revolutionary era shows.

The County.

The New England town was a revival of the early English town, which for centuries had survived in the English parish, both a civil and an ecclesiastical institution. The fundamental idea was that the business of the town should be transacted in town meeting by all the qualified freemen. In earliest New England these were the persons of good standing in the town church; but as the king objected to the exclusion of Anglicans from the suffrage, it was provided that any person of good character could be admitted to the suffrage on the certificate of a minister. This rule, discretely administered, relieved pressure from the exclusion of Anglicans, but left the control of town affairs safely within the church. The town meeting levied the taxes, appointed selectmen who executed its rules, chose subordinate officers, and supervised roads, bridges, and public property. Any voter might speak in town meeting; but it was part of the genius of the people to respect the advice of the elders. The minister had great influence in town affairs, the selectmen were the men of wealth and prominence, and between the two the direction of local affairs was in as restricted a group as in the South. Here, too, it must be said that the oligarchy ruled well. It was honest, patriotic, and economical, and it gave satisfaction to the majority.

The New England Town.

The mixed form first appears in New York. When Nicolls conquered New Amsterdam, eastern Long Island was settled by New Englanders, who had never acknowledged the right of the Dutch over

them. They had bought their lands from the Indians, established town meetings without authority from any superior, and desired to go on as they had begun. As they had helped Nicolls against Stuyvesant he could not ignore their request. Neither could he grant it; for the Duke of York meant to rule his province by absolute right, so far as he could. The result was a compromise which the Long Islanders accepted with disappointment. Nicolls prepared a code of laws on the basis of the enactments of the assemblies at Boston and New Haven and proclaimed it as law for the Long Island towns, where it was known as the "Duke Laws." It provided that the town administration be in the hands of overseers and constables elected by freeholders, but there was to be no town meeting. Local justice was to be administered, as in the South, by judges appointed by the governor. In a few years the "Duke's Laws" were extended to the rest of the province. In Nicolls's time there was no legislature. When it later came into existence, the county, made up by a union of several towns, became the basis of representation. Thus we have a system of counties divided into towns, or townships, imitated in the other middle colonies, and largely reproduced in the newer states of the union. Indeed, its advantages are so obvious that it has since the civil war been adopted in modified forms in the Southern states.

The Mixed Type of Local Government.

Paper Money in the Colonies

Until the end of the seventeenth century specie was the money generally used throughout the world, but shortly before that time it had been discovered that a state's promise to pay might be made to serve as currency, although no country had used the invention extensively. To issue bills which might be paid back to the government for taxes and then destroyed seemed a wonderful idea, and it was destined to be tried on a large scale in the colonies, where neither gold nor silver was mined, and where there was always a demand for money to develop the abundant natural resources. The idea was seductive, but it ignored the fundamental law that the volume of currency should be nearly stable in proportion to population. To increase it by a new issue would undoubtedly aid the debtors temporarily, but it worked a counteracting hardship to the capitalists, and to contract it would injure the borrowers while it benefited the capitalists. As the majority of people were not lenders they were continually asking for more paper money, once they learned of its effects, and they generally protested loudly against attempts to reduce its volume. The capitalists, merchants, and town's people generally, continually opposed such currency, and they had the support of the crown, which usually was tender of the interests of the trading class. Out of this opposition of

The Cause and Effect of Paper Money.

purpose grew up in most of the colonies important political divisions which seriously affected the people's loyalty to the mother country.

The first colony to have paper money was Massachusetts. In 1690 an unsuccessful expedition against Quebec left the treasury in debt and to pay it off notes were issued and made receivable for public dues. In the wars that followed and lasted until the French were driven out of Canada there were many similar issues, so that by 1745 a silver dollar was worth eleven dollars in currency. Other New England colonies had followed the example set them, and the whole country was overwhelmed with depreciated paper. The ruling classes, chiefly in the seacoast towns, were dismayed at the situation, and when parliament voted 175,000 pounds sterling to repay Massachusetts for her expenses in the expedition which took Louisburg, 1745, they were able to get a vote passed for the redemption of the outstanding notes at the rate of seven and a half for one. After that the currency of the colony was specie.

Massachusetts Leads the Way.

Massachusetts's lead in issuing paper currency was followed in most of the other colonies, Virginia being the most conspicuous opponent of the paper money system; and even she yielded in 1755. The largest issues were in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas. In these colonies the demand for currency became a veritable fiat money craze. Bills were printed and lent to individuals on the security of lands and commodities. Sometimes it was issued by the public direct and sometimes through corporations on a very slender basis of specie. Virginia's reluctance to employ this kind of money was not so much due to correct ideas of finance as to her habit of using tobacco for currency. Tobacco when not sold immediately was deposited in public warehouses, and the certificates received by the depositors were transferred to other persons in payment of debt or for trade.

In Other Colonies.

The protests of the merchants against the payment of debts in colonial paper soon reached the ears of the British government. Accordingly, colonial governors were instructed to allow the passage of no more acts authorizing paper money, and sometimes those already passed were vetoed in England. But the governors were not always able to obey their instructions without arousing more resistance than they cared to encounter. During the last struggle with France, 1754 to 1763, the colonies took the plausible ground that they could not furnish troops in aid of the war unless they be allowed to issue more paper money, and when this argument was insisted upon it usually prevailed. The irritation occasioned by the efforts of the crown to check paper money weakened the respect of the people for the British government, and was a powerful factor in preparing them for participation in the revolution. It also opened the way for the flood of public notes which inundated the country as soon as independence was declared.

Efforts of the Crown to Check the Craze.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

The Principles at Stake

When the British government was about to make peace with France in 1763, it was suggested that the French hold Canada as a restraint on the colonies. The suggestion brought forth a pamphlet from Franklin in which he said the colonies would not desire independence if they were treated fairly. Pitt accepted his argument but was out of office before the treaty was concluded. Bute, his successor, grasped at Canada, but forgot all about Franklin's stipulation that the colonies be treated fairly. In fact, if we interpret his policy in the way which seems most justifiable, he was bent on holding Canada and making British authority sufficiently energetic to deal with whatever spirit of self-assertion America might manifest. He meant that the colonies should contribute to the commercial support of England, that the king's prerogative should have ample scope in colonial administration, and that parliament should exercise the right to lay taxes on the colonists. That the colonists should consider this treatment fair was impossible; that they should find legal arguments in opposition to it was natural. Had the British government been in the hands of wise and well-informed men, the crisis of 1763–1776 might have been avoided, which does not, however, mean that it would not have come later.

Bute's Policy.

But the government acted on a basis of strict legality. It was legal for parliament to legislate in any way it saw fit; it was legal for the crown to exercise its prerogative in the veto of laws; it was legal for the royal governors to interfere in many ways with the growth of colonial self-government; and finally it was legal for England to impose the navigation laws on the colonies and to exploit the children's labor for maternal prosperity. These things had been done until they had all the sanction of precedent. Moreover, the Englishman thought them reasonable. Of all the moderns he is least liable to take other people into consideration. A few statesmen have proved an exception to this rule, but George III, Lord Bute, and the existing cabinet were not of the number. Those who directed English colonial affairs in 1763 knew little of that better art of government by which the mind of the governed is as much respected as the interests of the governing class.

Legal Basis of the English Policy.

The colonies were developing rapidly in numbers and in ideals. In twenty-five years the population had doubled, and with greater strength came greater confidence in the future; and they naturally felt disposed to demand a clearer definition of their relation to the British government. This was difficult because of two apparently conflicting principles which had hitherto been considered binding. One was that the colonists had all the fundamental rights of Englishmen. Under this they believed themselves entitled to the benefits of Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Acts, and such other great statements of personal liberty as the Bill of Rights of 1689. There was no disposition in England to deny this claim in its abstract form, but the application given it by the Americans was disputed. From English experience the colonists also deduced the clear right of "no taxation without representation," a principle at the bottom of every great English reform of the preceding two centuries. The other principle related to the power of parliament to legislate for the colonies. From time immemorial Englishmen have held parliament absolute in regard to the scope of its authority. No colonial charter ever dealt with the matter explicitly; but in most of them the assembly was given the right to make such laws as did not conflict with the laws of England. It had come about that the assemblies dealt with local matters and had nothing to do with affairs involving the empire, such as external commerce, the regulation of money, and the collection of debts due to British subjects. To see that this principle was not violated, the king insisted on the right to veto colonial statutes, although in England his veto of an act of parliament was long since abandoned. The colonists could not but look on this as a wrong. Their own view of their rights was that a colonial assembly was in a small way another parliament, guardian of popular rights and liberties, and ruling its colony as formerly the Scottish parliament ruled Scotland under British supervision. They did not in general dispute the authority of parliament to legislate for the colonies; but they resented the exercise of the right in a very vital way. Never did a more perplexing problem of imperial federation and home rule arise in British political history; and in 1763 England was not ready for it.

Two Conflicting Principles.

Veto in England and in the Colonies

Grenville's Policy

The men into whose hands the problem fell were George III and George Grenville. The former had been three years king, and had just got the reins of government firmly in his hands. The power of Newcastle and Pitt displeased him, and he drove them out of office by combining under his patronage all who had a grudge against either. The war was popular with the country

George III.

and enhanced Pitt's influence with the people. The king, therefore, hastened to make a peace which many Englishmen regarded as a sacrifice of national interests. The obloquy of it fell on Bute, the tool who formulated the terms of peace, and he was forced out of office. But George III would yield nothing to the old whig party. He made Grenville prime minister, and by favor and flattery consolidated a parliamentary majority in his support. From that time his purpose was to rule England. He knew little of the colonies and would not have distressed them capriciously. But his love of prerogative was a ruling passion, and once it was questioned by the Americans, his stubborn nature would risk much in its support.

Grenville.

Walpole and Newcastle had paid little attention to the colonies; Grenville, more conscientious and more given to detail, not only gave them attention, but prepared a definite scheme involving their relation to the empire. The national debt was exorbitant, 140,000,000 pounds, and much of it grew out of the late war, fought in behalf of the colonies. To protect the empire a large fleet and a standing army were necessary. To Grenville, logical and prosaic statesman, it seemed the most natural of conclusions that the colonies, a part of the empire, should share this imperial burden. He did not think of the practical difficulties before him, nor did he stop to look at the matter from the colonists' standpoint. His conclusion was made, and three measures were devised to carry it into effect. The situation was well summed up in the remark of a treasury official that, "Grenville lost America because he read the American dispatches, which none of his predecessors had done."

1. Navigation Laws to be Enforced.

The first of these three momentous acts provided for the strict enforcement of the navigation and customs laws in America. On examination Grenville learned that the duties paid in America did not exceed 2000 pounds a year, and that it cost nearly 8000 pounds a year to collect this sum. Smuggling existed on a large scale, and he proposed to break it up. Ships-of-war were sent to patrol the American coasts, rigid instructions were given to the resident customs officials, and delinquents in office were replaced by men who seemed more trustworthy. In 1764 the "molasses act" of 1733, which had been generally violated with the connivance of the government, was revived and enlarged by the addition of coffee, Spanish and Portuguese wines, and several other less important articles. Thus on the chief articles which New England received in return for her fish, lumber, staves, and food products sold in French and Spanish colonies, such duties must be paid as would practically annihilate the trade. The effects of this would be more far-reaching than Grenville could have known. Besides furs, New England and the middle colonies exported little to England, which did not take their flour, lumber, staves, and cheaper fish; and yet they bought English merchandise heavily. As a result,

there was a large annual balance against them for which they paid from the cash proceeds of the trade to the islands. Take from them the French and Spanish parts of this trade, and not only would colonial industry suffer, but English merchants would find American orders restricted and American merchants would be hopelessly involved in debts to their British creditors. The act of 1764, therefore, with the stricter revenue regulations accompanying it, brought consternation not only to the smugglers but to all the colonial merchants.

2. A British Army in America.

The second measure concerned an army. Grenville decided to maintain 10,000 men in the American colonies and announced that the duties arising from the act just mentioned would defray one-third of the expense. The other two-thirds he would have the king pay. This measure was justified on the ground that the troops were needed to defend the colonies against foreign attack. To the Americans it seemed that the soldiers were designed to overawe them, to support the collection of customs, and to nip in the bud any plans which might be made to support the colonies in their contention for what they considered their rights. And they asked with much pertinence why, if protection were needed, it had not been sent earlier, when French and Indians were a real menace? To this question no satisfactory answer has been given by those who see in Grenville's second measure merely a precaution against foreign dangers.

3. The Stamp Act.

The third measure was a stamp act. It was not offered in 1764, but Grenville introduced, and parliament passed, a resolution declaring that it might be proper to enact it. A protest came at once from every colonial agent in London, to which Grenville replied by saying that the colonies must assume a part of the military burden, that a stamp tax was easily laid and collected, but that he would be pleased to consider any better scheme of raising the money if the colonies would suggest it. He intimated that by seizing this opportunity the colonists might make a precedent for giving money to the crown only when previously consulted by the ministry. A little reflection showed that this was impracticable unless the colonies should first adopt some satisfactory form of authoritative coöperation in apportioning their respective shares of a contribution and in devising the means of raising the funds.

Alarm in the Colonies.

News of Grenville's measures aroused the apprehension of all the colonists, but it created consternation among the traders of New England. A Boston town meeting declared: "There is no room for further delay. . . . These unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to new taxations upon us; for if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and everything else we possess?" In this way the commercial class endeavored to make the rural classes see that the cause of one was the cause of all. It was a peculiarly opportune

time for such agitation; for New England was then in commotion over a proposition, urged by the Anglicans in England and in the colonies, for the creation of an American bishopric. Such a step could not but strengthen the position of that church, lead to the enlargement of its membership, and promote its wider influence in political affairs. New England was especially opposed to such a step, her ministers, the most influential class of her people, were debating the question in every town, and to the alarms they thus felt was now added the feeling that parliament was asserting the right to tax Americans at will. The fact that Grenville's policy bore more hardly on New England than on other sections may explain why it was that the first steps of the revolution were taken by her people.

An Anglican Bishopric.

In July, 1764, was published in Boston James Otis's "Rights of the British Colonists Asserted and Proved." The author was the most advanced of what was to become the revolutionary group, and his pamphlet may be taken as a statement of the constitutional views of the most extreme Americans. In it is no advocacy of independence. Could the colonists choose, he said, they would prefer the status of British subjects to independence, unless the former condition involved absolute slavery to England. The right of parliament to make laws for the general good of the colonies was admitted, but to allow it the right to tax American trade was to say it might tax any form of American property. In England a distinction had been made between "external" and "internal" taxes: Otis rejected the distinction, saying taxes were taxes, wherever collected. For remedy he suggested that the colonies should have representation in parliament "in some proportion to their number and estates." Already the cry had been raised, "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

Position of the extreme Americans.

Two objections may be made to these arguments. One is that they were always overstated. The patriots talked about "British tyranny," and declared that they were about to be "reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves." Such lurid phrases must have been unconvincing to the British ministry, on whose good will depended an exit from the existing confusions. Moreover, these arguments lacked that self-restrained dignity which thoughtful men admire. The cause of the patriots was a good one. The relation of the colonies to England was threatened with a precedent full of possible future calamity, but it was not likely to be removed by calling names. The second objection is that the suggestion of colonial representation was impractical. If it had been adopted, the Americans would have had very little influence in parliament, and they could not have prevented taxation of the colonies. This was so apparent that the demand was soon dropped by the Americans.

Two Objections.

By the spring of 1765 Grenville knew the views of the colonists on a stamp tax. Instead of suggesting any other method of contributing to the burden of empire they had given unmistakable evidence of repudiation of all British taxes. Determined to have the revenue, which he thought essentially just, he now brought in the stamp act, and like the revised "molasses act" of 1764, it passed parliament without serious challenge. It required stamps on all legal and commercial documents, bonds, insurance policies, and newspapers, the proceeds to be expended exclusively on the colonies. Offenses against the act were to be tried by admiralty courts in America or in England, and Grenville proposed to appoint only Americans as agents to distribute the stamps. He wished to soften the execution of the law as much as possible, and he thought the colonists would accept it calmly after a brief state of irritation.

The Stamp Act Passed, 1765.

When news of these proceedings came to America there was a storm of protests. The memorials of colonial assemblies to parliament were not received by it, the vote in the House of Lords was unanimous for the tax, and in the commons it was 205 to 49. Truly it seemed that the wishes of the children were despised by the mother. One notable speech had been made against the bill in the commons by Colonel Isaac Barrè, who fervently praised the Americans as "Sons of Liberty." The phrase was taken up in America, and bands of "Sons of Liberty" were soon organized to express the popular disapproval.

Indignation in America.

But the outburst did not come at once. For some weeks after the act was known to have passed there was a stupefied feeling of outrage, but no one suggested a means of action. The man who took the initiative in protest was Patrick Henry, a Virginia lawyer of Scotch ancestry, who in 1763 had made himself the popular hero in a Presbyterian community by his wonderful speech in the celebrated "Parson's cause." He was now a member of the Virginia house of burgesses, but was distrusted for his extreme views by the old and experienced leaders of the body. To the consternation of the latter, he introduced resolutions condemnatory of the stamp act, in which he claimed for Virginians the exclusive right of taxing themselves in their own assembly. The leaders of the aristocratic East had hitherto been masters of the house, and they considered the young backwoodsman's resolutions too extreme. After a hot debate he carried the day by a close majority. It was here that he made the famous utterance: "Tarquin and Cæsar each had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third" — [from the speaker and others, "Treason! Treason!"] — "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." Having won the victory, Henry departed for his home, and his opponents, taking advantage of his absence, carried a motion

Patrick Henry's Resolutions.

to expunge the most significant words of his resolutions. But the effect was not what they intended. Henry's words had aroused Virginia, and his original resolutions were printed everywhere and no notice taken of the expunging action of the conservatives. Henry became a conspicuous leader in the struggle then beginning. As governor of the state and as counsellor among the revolutionists his work was hardly more than ordinary, but in the task of arousing public sentiment by means of burning and exaggerated descriptions of colonial wrongs he was unequalled in the South. James Otis, of Boston, was his counterpart in the North. Each played his part in the drama about to open.

Parties Forming.

The popular indignation was general, and associations of "Sons of Liberty" were formed in every colony. They found leaders as fervent as Henry and Otis, intimidated the stamp agents, and forced them to resign, in many places employing violence. In Boston the mob destroyed a building which they thought was to be the stamp office, and pillaged and wrecked the residence of Chief Justice Hutchinson. Defenders of the crown were now denounced as "tories" while friends of the colonies were called "whigs." But the "Sons of Liberty" were only a part of the whigs; for there were in America many conservatives who opposed taxation by parliament but who did not participate in the demonstrations of the radicals. At this time no one openly advocated independence.

Stamp Act Congress, 1765.

The hope of the conservatives was in appeal to the crown, and for that purpose, at the suggestion of Massachusetts, the Stamp Act congress met at New York, October 7, 1765. Delegates came from all the colonies but New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, and from these came unofficial messages of encouragement. The result was petitions to king and parliament and a declaration of the rights of Americans. In the latter we have the first statement of a purpose common to all the colonies. The congress repudiated the notion that the colonies should have parliamentary representation as impossible "from local circumstances," and it admitted the right of parliament to make general and trade laws in reference to the colonies, but denied its authority to lay taxes. The right of taxation, said the delegates, was a sacred right of Englishmen, guaranteed to all the colonists in their charters, and on it they stood. After the congress adjourned committees of correspondence, formed as an afterthought through the suggestion of New York whigs, took up the question of trade reprisal. Thus were made non-importation and non-consumption agreements, which secured wide acceptance by the people. "Touching the pocket nerve," as this course was called, was sensibly felt by the British merchants, who signed many memorials for the repeal of the stamp act.

Non-importation.

The state of affairs in America was well known in England when parliament met, December 17, 1765, and it was evident that the objectionable measure must be executed by force or repealed. For the former course neither king nor people were ready. The latter was made easier by the recent retirement of the Grenville ministry for causes not connected with its colonial policy. The first sign of retraction was when inquiry was made to know if the colonies would be satisfied if the stamp act were "moderated." Franklin, agent for Pennsylvania, was interrogated on this point at the bar of the house of commons, and declared that nothing but absolute repeal would be accepted by the colonies. Asked if there were no means by which they would erase their resolutions against parliamentary taxation, he answered, "None that I know of; they will never do it unless compelled by force of arms." Pitt, who was ill when the act passed, now took the floor for repeal. Twitted by Grenville for encouraging the Americans to defy England, he exclaimed: "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He urged the repeal of the stamp act, but favored a strong assertion of the authority of parliament to "bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The outcome was that March 18 a repeal bill was signed by the king. At the same time passed the "declaratory act," an explicit statement that parliament could rightfully make laws for "the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, *in all cases whatsoever.*"

Repeal of the Stamp Act.

In America a few stamps had been sold in South Carolina and Georgia: in all the other colonies the law was not executed in the four and a half months it was formally in force. November 1, the day set for the beginning of its enforcement, was ushered in with the tolling of bells, and processions marched through the chief towns to bury or burn the stamp act. In Connecticut the stamps themselves were seized and burned. In North Carolina the governor found his house surrounded by more than 700 Sons of Liberty, who did not go away until the stamp agent resigned and with other officers swore not to attempt to enforce the odious act. When this situation began, business came to a standstill. No one dared accept an unstamped instrument, and no ship could get stamped clearance papers. But with the triumph of the protestants courage came to the timid ones and business went on as before in disregard of the stamp act.

Stamp Act a Dead Letter before its Repeal.

From such confusions the colonies were thrown into joy by the news of repeal. The bells now rang another tune, liberty poles were erected, and the health of the king was drunk in every kind

of tipple from the rum of the laboring man to the punch and Madeira of the wealthy merchant. Virginia ordered a statue of the king and New York ordered statues of both the king and Pitt. In Philadelphia the substantial citizens gave their homespun clothes to the poor and appeared in handsome suits of British cloth. In their excitement the colonists thought little of the declaratory act, the Sons of Liberty dissolved as a society, and every thought of resisting the mother country disappeared.

Rejoicing at Repeal.

Growing Irritation

Popular rejoicings did not last long; for spite of the repeal of the stamp act the colonists and the king were wide apart in principle. In New York was a large detachment of regulars who by a parliamentary billeting act of 1765 were to be furnished with quarters by the colony. When the matter was laid before the assembly a partial refusal was obtained and trouble began, with the result that in 1767 the assembly was suspended until it complied with the law. In Massachusetts the governor blundered into a quarrel when he demanded of the assembly compensation for the sufferers through the stamp act riots. Objection was made to the demand, as well as to a call for supplies for the garrison under the billeting act. Next the governor vetoed the election of James Otis as speaker of the assembly. There was much bickering, but a compromise was effected. Old quarrels might have been forgotten if Charles Townshend had not been at the head of the British ministry. His first prominent appearance in colonial affairs was in 1763, when he was first lord of trade in Bute's cabinet. He then formulated a plan to remodel the colonial government on a uniform scale, to enforce the acts of trade, and to use the revenue raised in America to support an army and civil establishment at the will of the crown. The scheme was more thoroughgoing than that inaugurated by Grenville, but it passed out of sight with the fall of the Bute ministry.

The Quarrel Reopened.

Townshend did not forget it, and when through the fall of the Rockingham ministry in 1766 he became head of the exchequer he returned to his older policy. Without the support of his colleagues in the cabinet he announced that he would bring in a bill to raise in the colonies the money to support an army in America, a bill, he said, which would have the approval of the Americans themselves. Had the cabinet been a strong one, he would probably have been forced to resign; but Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was ill, and Grafton, the nominal head, was weak-willed, and Townshend was allowed to proceed in the course he mapped out. In May, 1767, he secured the passage of three acts relating to America. In one, duties were laid on tea, glass, red and white lead, and paper. The colonists had admitted

The Townshend Acts, 1767.

the legality of external taxes, and such was the kind now laid. But as the revenue from the five articles named would not be more than £40,000, this act was inadequate to the support of an army, for which ten times that much was necessary. It was designed, it seems, for a precedent, to be followed by a much wider list of taxable articles. To secure larger revenues immediately he carried through a law creating a board of commissioners to supervise the execution of the navigation acts in America; and as this would likely lead to commotions, he got a third bill passed as a warning to any colony which disputed the parliamentary act to billet soldiers. It suspended the New York assembly for its recent refusal to furnish supplies at the demand of the governor. The blow fell heavily on that province, in which were many tories, and in 1769 the assembly yielded and was restored to full vigor. The Townshend acts were carried through parliament without serious difficulty. The landed interest controlled both houses and were pleased to throw off their own shoulders any part of the heavy burden of taxation. To them the colonies seemed ungrateful and rebellious children, for whom a little parental sternness would be good. The king fully approved the sentiment. Recalling now the prophecy of 1762 it seems well to say that England lost the colonies, not because Canada was no longer French, but because the mother country thought that the time was come to take them into a stricter control than had hitherto been exercised over them. Whatever might have happened later, the American revolution came, when it did come, as the result of events which England, and not the colonies, initiated.

Colonial Protests.

The colony most affected by trade restrictions was Massachusetts, and she was the first to move in protest. The assembly had a good leader in Samuel Adams, who was the author of several protests of the assembly to king and parliament. He also wrote a circular letter which the assembly sent to the other colonies, suggesting that coöperation was essential in a cause that touched all the continent. Most of the colonies revived the non-importation agreement; but the state of feeling differed from that of 1765 in that it was less vociferous. There were no riots, and the conservative whigs played a larger part. This feeling was well expressed by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, in his "Farmer's Letters." He declared that a most serious crisis was on the country and urged that it be met in the spirit of prudence, bravery, and magnanimity. He set aside all thought of independence, saying, "Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent." But he asserted that if England could tax American imports, she could tax in a prohibitive way the articles she did not wish the colonists to manufacture, and that done, he concluded, "the tragedy of American liberty is finished." From 1767 we hear little

Sam. Adams and John Dickinson.

in America about the difference between "external" and "internal" taxes. Indeed, it was now freely asserted that England had no right to "legislate" for the colonies.

Townshend died September 4, 1767, Lord North succeeded him as head of the exchequer, and Lord Hillsborough became secretary for the colonies, a new office of cabinet rank; but the Townshend policy was not to be relaxed. When Hillsborough saw the Massachusetts circular to the other colonies, he pronounced it seditious, and ordered the individual governors to adjourn their respective assemblies, if notice was taken of it. To Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, he sent a demand that the assembly should revoke the circular. In a secret session, by a vote of 92 to 17, the demand was refused, and an address was sent to Hillsborough in which it was said that the colony stood on the principles of the English revolution of 1689. All the colonies were now keenly alive to the situation, and Virginia, the oldest and largest, took a determined position by the side of the trading colonies of the North. When parliament knew of this it passed resolutions of censure on Massachusetts and suggested that the leaders of the whigs in America be sent to England for trial under an obsolete law of Henry VIII's reign. This suggestion brought out a protest from every colony. From this time the controversy was probably beyond the possibility of compromise, although there remained in America many who still hoped England would yield.

New Ministry and an Old Policy.

Meanwhile the spirit of mob violence reappeared, its first outbreak being in Boston, where it was impossible to enforce the revenue acts. In 1768, for example, a cargo of wine was landed without paying duty and carried boldly through the streets under a guard of "stout fellows, armed with bludgeons," and the revenue officials were not rash enough to attempt a seizure. On the contrary, they asked that troops be sent to the town. The request was reasonable from the British point of view; if the laws existed, they should be executed. So thought the government, and in September two regiments with artillery, about 1000 men in all, landed in Boston. The people refused to submit to the billeting law on the ground that there was room for the troops in the barracks at Castle William. General Gage, commander-in-chief in the colonies, protested, but the soldiers had eventually to be placed in buildings hired at dear rentals. They had come to intimidate the town, and between them and the inhabitants relations were unpleasant from the beginning.

Troops sent to Boston.

For eighteen months officers and soldiers avoided serious conflict. They were criticized in the journals, flouted in the streets, and sometimes involved in personal conflict with the more violent townsmen. Nor were they always patient and considerate of the people. They raced horses on Sundays, played

Growing Resentment.

unseemly music near the meetinghouses during divine worship, and planted cannon to command the state house, in which the general court sat. In 1769 Otis was attacked by a revenue commissioner for an article in a newspaper and received a sword cut, from which he sank into insanity. Though the troops had nothing to do with the outrage, it produced high popular resentment for every British agent.

Bloodshed in Boston, 1770.

Early in 1770 violent affrays became numerous. It is evident that the long residence of the soldiers in the town had given the more radical leaders a text for agitation, and it may be that the populace had reached a point of excitement beyond the control of the leaders. In February a wooden image appeared over the door of a shop whose keeper flouted non-importation, and a mob interfered when a friend tried to remove it. Thereupon the friend fired into the crowd, killing a boy. At the victim's funeral 500 children walked in front of the remains and 1300 persons followed them to the grave. Such an outburst of sympathy shows how well the whig side was controlled by its leaders. March 5, 1770, came a more serious affair. Two soldiers were attacked and beaten by townsmen, and an ugly spirit was aroused. The bells were rung, a large crowd gathered, and a sentinel in front of the customhouse was attacked.

The "Boston Massacre," March 5, 1770.

Captain Preston, officer of the day, with thirteen men, went to his support. The mob was not intimidated. They threw snow, shouted vile epithets, and cried: "Fire if you dare, fire and be damned! We know you dare not!" The soldiers behaved well until one of them, struck with a stick, discharged his musket without orders. The mob rushed forward to take him, but fell back when several other muskets were fired. Drums were beat and all the troops in Boston seized arms to repel a general attack. At this point the governor appeared, and by his appeals induced the angry citizens to disperse. At the first shot, Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, was slain, and subsequently four others were killed and six were wounded. Preston and several of the soldiers were indicted for murder, John Adams and Josiah Quincy appearing as their counsel. All were acquitted but two, who, convicted of manslaughter, pleaded benefit of clergy and escaped with branding on the hand. The day after the shooting a town meeting was held under the leadership of Samuel Adams and John Hancock. The latter was a rich merchant and many times a smuggler. Before their determined protest the governor yielded, and the soldiers were withdrawn from the town. The victims of the "Massacre," as the affair was called, were given a public funeral, and for a dozen years the anniversary of their death was observed in Boston. The incident, described in a pamphlet as the culminating act of British tyranny, had a marked influence on all the colonists. It was the kind of argument that the average citizen could understand.

Meanwhile, events moved rapidly in England. The cabinet, now headed by Lord North, but delivered hand and foot to the will of the king, was surprised to find the revenues from America were only £295 more than the cost of collection and to learn that extraordinary military expenses there were £170,000. For these results the government was creating the spirit of resistance in the colonies; and although North declared in parliament that the Townshend acts ought not to be repealed "till we see America prostrate at our feet," it is certain that he and the king were anxious to escape from the situation without complete defeat. It was with this hope in mind that he announced on the day of the "Boston Massacre," March 5, 1770, a bill to repeal all the duties imposed by the Townshend acts, save that on tea, which was kept to maintain the rights of parliament. "The properest time to assert our right of taxation is when the right is refused," said he with a tone of confidence which must have been assumed for the occasion. For to make palatable the tax of threepence a pound he allowed a drawback of nearly twelve pence a pound on the tea sent from England to America; thus offering cheaper tea to the colonists than to the people of England. The law passed, and its financial effect was good. Colonial imports from Great Britain, which aggregated £2,378,000 in 1768, and fell to £1,634,000 in 1769, rose to £4,200,000 in 1771. Non-importation was relaxed on all articles except tea, but public opinion in regard to that article was expressed in the formation of societies to refrain from tea-drinking. The issue between parliament and the colonies now appeared in a new form: the Grenville plan to tax America for revenue was given up, and in lieu of it was the king's plan to tax it on principle.

North's Tea Tax, 1770.

At this stage we may take a glance at the general situation produced by seven years of controversy. 1. The colonial loyalty of 1763 was gone, and instead were suspicion and bitterness. 2. With it were mingled a feeling of self-confidence and a conviction that England could not carry out the program she had undertaken. She had been obliged to confess failure in regard to the stamp act and the larger part of the Townshend duties; and was to see the same result in regard to the tea duties. 3. The losing controversy provoked a spirit of bitterness between the royal officials in the colonies and leaders of the people there. The former felt impelled to assert their rights, and there were numerous incidents which they took for challenges. The colonials were equally stout-hearted, and in fiery appeals aroused the people on the one hand while they awakened the wrath of the officials on the other. Each side accused the other of usurping authority, and mutual hatred became strong. 4. The colonial assemblies became the centers of resistance to the king. Persons who felt otherwise could not be elected to these bodies; and if any man was disposed to balance between the two

A Summary View.

sides the prospect of defeat by his constituency was apt to make him decide against the crown, and 5. Colonial politics acquired dignity and strength from having a great common cause of protest. Hitherto the contention was about some local matter, as issuing paper money, or the favoritism of a class, and on such a subject men might divide in mere factious feeling. But now there was a cause as great as any that had ever aroused a people. It involved equally the upper and the lower class; it appealed alike to the reason and to the highest emotions; and it had in it every hope of the future.

Three Groups in America.

In 1770 the colonists were divided into three groups: 1. The tories, out and out prerogative men, who either believed that a government was strongest when ruled by the crown or who found it their interest to say so. In this party were those who derived advantage from royal favor, many others who were conservatives by nature and believed the militant whigs were irresponsible and led by demagogues. 2. The whigs, ardently protesting against the plan of king and parliament to bring America under a stronger British control. Some of them were undoubtedly now willing to carry resistance to extremities, but felt it was not wise to say so. Among the leaders were chiefly those who had hitherto dominated the assemblies. Both inclination and interest prompted them to their course; for by establishing the principle of colonial control of taxation they enhanced the power of the assembly, which but increased their own influence. Some whig leaders were accused of demagogy. They organized bands of working men, whom they harangued most passionately against British despotism. Others, and the majority, were more quiet. There was always some difficulty in keeping the extremists from going too fast. 3. A middle class, who considered the defenders of royalty either selfish or misled, but who looked on the whigs as agitators. For the most part, they thought more of their personal affairs than politics. This class was very numerous, especially in the agricultural sections. The desire to bring them to the support of the revolution was a wholesome check on the more impetuous whigs.

Samuel Adams.

At this time Massachusetts was most prominent in opposition to the British policy, and for this Samuel Adams was chiefly responsible. He was able and persistent, and he lost no opportunity to appeal to the people. In 1772 he carried a vote in a Boston town meeting to create a committee of correspondence to exchange views and information with other towns in the colony. The other towns accepted the suggestion, and thus Adams became the head of a colonial organization in the whig cause. In the following year a group of Virginia whigs, among them Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, carried a resolution in the assembly to appoint a committee for Virginia to correspond with committees of the other colonies in reference to all matters relating to the common

good. Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and South Carolina adopted this suggestion, and thus was created a central organization in behalf of the continental cause. When these steps were taken three years had elapsed since North had substituted the tea tax for the Townshend duties, and although there had been various irritating occurrences [1] in the several colonies, there was nothing to which the colonies could point as an act of aggression on the part of parliament. Why then should this step toward a united America have been thought necessary? The answer must be that the whigs were gaining in power, and themselves becoming more aggressive. They had ample reason to know that the king and his officers had not relaxed their purpose to exercise the mastery, and they were preparing to meet a danger they felt inevitable.

A small incident brought the blow they were expecting. In 1773 the East India Company, which imported England's tea, was in financial straits, due, it seems, to its inability to sell tea in the American colonies. It appealed to the government for a remission of duties. Lord North and the king willingly gave the relief asked for, and the company was now allowed to send its tea to America without any duty paid in England. North was asked to give up, also, the duty of threepence a pound imposed by the act of 1767; but he refused, saying the king was determined to make its collection a test of authority with America. On this small point, it seems safe to say, hung the question of American revolt.

The East India Company.

The company took the favor granted it, and in 1773 sent to the colonies a number of ships laden with the tea which for months had been accumulating in its warehouses. All this was known in the colonies, and the people were determined to resist. The whig leaders at once put into operation their machinery of arousing opinion. The governors and higher officials who led the tories had no means of checking the whigs, and the middle group were indifferent. At Charleston the agents of the company resigned before the popular storm, and as the duty had not been paid at the end of twenty days the tea was seized by the collector and stored in vaults for three years when it was sold at auction. In Philadelphia the whig leaders called large popular

Cargoes of Tea.

[1] The most important was the destruction of the *Gaspée*, a small ship with eight guns which was very active in arresting smugglers in Rhode Island. The commander was applauded by his superiors for his zeal, and became overconfident. He went so far as to send some of the seized property to Boston for adjudication, alleging, with probable truth, that justice would not be obtained in Rhode Island. He became very unpopular in this colony, and when, on June 9, 1772, his ship ran aground near Providence, a group of citizens attacked it, wounded the commander, overpowered the crew, and burned the hated craft. The party were well known by common report, but when a commission appeared to inquire into the outrage no evidence could be had. The incident promoted colonial defiance and strengthened the conviction of the British government that the supreme problem in the colonies was to teach the colonists to respect authority.

meetings which denounced the tea tax. Here, as in New York, the agents declined to act, and the cargoes went back in the ships which brought them. In Boston excitement was high. The agents, two of whom were sons of Governor Hutchinson, refused to resign, and took refuge in the castle. When the captains of the tea ships wished to go back to England with their cargoes, the governor forbade their departure. He seemed determined to force the issue to a settlement, and Adams met it squarely. On the night of December 16, 1773, about fifty men disguised as Indians and directed by Adams himself went aboard the ships at the wharf and emptied 342 chests of tea into the water. No effort was made by the town officials to prevent this affair, nor were any of the participants prosecuted for destroying property. This act of violence is to be defended only on the ground that Adams and his associates considered war inevitable and looked upon themselves as its heralds.

"Boston Tea Party," Dec. 16, 1773.

Continental Organization and Attempts at Adjustment

While the news of the "Boston Tea Party" was fresh in England, parliament came together, March 7, 1774. The king was determined that Boston should be made to respect his power and lost no time in calling to the attention of the lawmakers the state of affairs in America. With the majority the only question was to make authority respected, and though Chatham in one house and Burke in the other pleaded for a restoration of the laws to the state they were in before Grenville, a policy of coercion was adopted. It was stated in five acts, the substance of which was as follows:

The Colonists Must Obey the Laws.

1. The port of Boston was closed, the customhouse was moved to Salem, and ships were stationed in the harbor to enforce the law. The ban was to be removed by the king when compensation was made for the tea destroyed and when he was satisfied that the duties would be paid in the future.

Boston Port Bill.

2. The charter of Massachusetts was remodeled so as to remove several of its liberal features. Councillors, who had hitherto been chosen by the assembly, were now to be appointed by the crown. All the minor executive and judicial officers were also to be appointed, and not elected, as formerly; and the town meeting was not to meet, except for elections, without the consent of the governor, who must specifically authorize the kind of business that could be transacted. Lawyers were then divided on the question of the authority of parliament to annul or amend a colonial charter; but so good an authority as Chief Justice Mansfield supported the right. He proceeded on the theory that the English parliament may do anything but a physical impossi-

The Massachusetts Charter.

bility. But granted this be true, what shall we say of the political wisdom of the men who thus jauntily tried to uproot a form of government which had developed through a century and a half? Could they have expected any other answer than resistance? From being a home of democracy Massachusetts was now to be a centralized province, with no other feature of popular government than the right to choose the members of the lower house.

3. To secure a fair trial for officials charged with capital crimes while executing their duties, the governor might, if he saw fit, send them to England for a hearing. In such a case he must send witnesses. The law seems to have been suggested by the trial of Preston and the soldiers concerned in the Boston "Massacre." **Trial in England.**

4. The law of 1765 to authorize quartering troops had been allowed to expire; but it was now revived. It was ominous, also, that General Gage, commander of troops in America, was made governor of Massachusetts. **A Quartering Act.**

5. The domain ceded by France in 1763 was organized into a province of Quebec, governed by a legislative council appointed by the crown, with the Catholic Church established by law, and with limits including the region between the Ohio and the lakes. **The "Quebec Act."** The act was the result of a long investigation by English officials and lawyers, and plausible reasons not connected with the seaboard situation are assigned for its important features. But it came at an inopportune moment. Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts claimed territory in the Northwest and resented the loss of it. To all the whigs it seemed that England wished to build up beyond the mountains a great power dependent on the St. Lawrence and lake systems of transportation, with a government highly centralized and held firmly in hand by the crown, and with an established religion which would preclude any sympathy with the Atlantic colonies. Recent investigations have shown that these assumptions were unwarranted. The Northwest was attached to Canada, it is said, for the better regulation of the fur trade, and the government and religion established in the province were necessarily adopted for a population mostly French Catholic and accustomed to the French régime. The seaboard colonies knew nothing of this. Had they known, the "Quebec act" must have aroused their apprehension. From early days they had dreamed of the time when they should subdue the wilderness as far as the Mississippi. It now seemed evident that the dream was shattered, for whatever the motive of the government the Northwest was to be closed to the Atlantic colonies by being handed over to a people peculiarly dependent on the crown and largely alien in political and religious sentiment.

The acts of 1774 brought consternation to the colonists, for they left no choice between resistance and submission. June 1, Boston was

blockaded, no goods might go out or come in, business stood still, and want invaded the homes of the poor. May 13 General Gage arrived with four regiments, and assumed the duties of military governor. It was expected that the town would soon be forced into submission and the other colonies be overawed by the fate of Massachusetts.

Boston Punished.

But there was little thought of submission. From the neighboring towns and from the remotest colonies came relief for Boston's poor. A shower of pamphlets appeared in every quarter arguing that the cause of Massachusetts was the cause of all the colonies. So threatening became the situation that Gage fortified the neck of land then joining the town to the mainland, and gave up all thoughts of offensive operations against the interior. The officials appointed under the remodeled charter dared not show themselves outside of his lines.

The Effect Elsewhere.

By this time much was being said about a congress representing the whole continent after the manner of the stamp act congress of 1765. The suggestion was generally approved, and Virginia took the initiative. In May her burgesses set aside June 1, the day the Boston Port Bill began to operate, as a day for fasting and prayer, and for this Governor Dunmore dissolved the house. Then the members, in a meeting at the famous Raleigh tavern in Williamsburg, sent out a summons for an annual congress to consider "the united interest of America," and called a Virginia convention to elect delegates to such a congress. The response was immediate and hearty. In three colonies only, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, delegates could be chosen by the assembly. Elsewhere the royal governor adjourned that body to keep it from acting, and the people followed Virginia's example of calling a convention on their own authority. How completely the whigs now controlled colonial politics is shown by the fact that the personnel of these conventions was usually the same as that of the several assemblies.

A Continental Movement.

When the delegates assembled in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, all the colonies were represented but Georgia. They were the best men among the whigs, all trained by years of leadership in their respective struggles against royal governors or rival factions. The sessions were secret, but we know that two groups appeared among the delegates. One wished to have a union of the colonies, with a president appointed by the king and a council of delegates which could make laws subject to parliamentary veto and which could also veto laws of parliament relating to the colonies. Had this plan been adopted and allowed by England the colonies would have remained English. It was favored by the most conservative, among them Jay, Duane, Colden, Galloway, and Edward Rutledge. It had the serious defect that it would most certainly be rejected by the king.

The First Continental Congress, 1774.

Two Sides.

The delegates from Virginia and Massachusetts led the other group. War alone, it was evident, could shake the will of George III, and if we must fight, let it be for independence. This was a bold idea and the supporters of it did not venture to announce it openly. A great many whigs clung lovingly to the name "Briton," and it was finally decided to publish the American contention to the world and await the formation of public opinion. Thus it was that the congress took up the preparation of a series of "Declarations and Resolves." The differences among the delegates show in the utterance in regard to legislation. It distinctly claims for the colonies the "exclusive power" to legislate for their own affairs, subject only to the king's veto, but it promises acquiescence to parliamentary acts for the *bona fide* regulation of external commerce and made in the commercial interest of the empire. As to ordinary rights of person and political liberty the resolutions were clear and strong. The congress also prepared addresses to the king, the British nation, and to the people of the colonies.

The most important action of the congress was the adoption of the "Association," an agreement to import no English products after December 1, 1774, and to export nothing to any British port, European or colonial, after September 10, 1775. This action occasioned serious opposition from New England and the middle colonies; but every section must sacrifice something. Virginia gave up the exportation of tobacco to England, Massachusetts the West India trade, and Rhode Island the slave trade. The local committees were urged to see that the "Association" was not violated. They became a very important factor in the revolutionary movement, administering oaths to those who seemed of doubtful loyalty, publishing lists of persons who violated the Association, and in many other ways making life unpleasant for tories, as all opponents of revolution soon began to be called. The "Association" was readily ratified by all the colonies but New York, where there was a strong tory element, and Georgia, which was badly divided between factions of New England and Southern origin. But in both these colonies the whigs were numerous and organized local committees to promote the colonial cause.

Non-importation "Association."

October 26 congress dissolved, ordering a new congress to meet May 10, 1775, unless the grievances of the colonies were previously redressed. Its chief significance was that it gave cohesion to the whigs. They had come to understand one another. Their appeals discountenanced independence, but advised that the people be ready for the worst. At the same time the country was full of warlike preparations. Arms were bought and military companies were formed. Provincial congresses and committees of safety gave the revolutionary movement an efficient organization. The royal governors reported to the home government

What the Congress Signified.

all that happened, but they were powerless to arrest the preparations which led daily toward revolution.

Gage, behind his Boston barrier, watched anxiously the gathering storm in Massachusetts. Reliable information convinced him that the advent of spring, 1775, would make his task a difficult one. To anticipate his opponents seemed good policy, and on the evening of April 18 he sent 800 men to seize some stores at Concord, 18 miles away. The whigs were on the watch, and sent messengers to arouse the countryside. A lantern in the tower of the North church flashed information of the departure to Paul Revere, on the other side of Charles river, who rode hastily to Lexington. Signal guns and galloping horses soon told the regulars that their movements were known. On Lexington common at dawn they encountered sixty minute men in military line, who refused to disperse. Suddenly there was a single shot, and then a volley, before which the militiamen fled, eight killed and ten wounded. The British lost none, and proceeded to Concord, where they destroyed such stores as the natives, warned of the movement, had not carried away. By this time the countryside swarmed with militia, and the British hastily retreated. Every rock, tree, or fence that offered cover concealed angry Americans from whose fire the regulars suffered severely. Gage, informed of the situation, sent Percy with 1500 fresh troops to escort the column to safety. By this means it came back to Boston, but with a loss of 273 killed, wounded, and missing. The militia lost 93 in all, and following the retreating column in force began the siege of Boston.

Lexington and Concord.

The news from Lexington and Concord flew rapidly southward. In five days it reached Philadelphia, six days later it reached Virginia, and May 4 it was at Edenton, North Carolina. Everywhere it brought forth patriotic resolves and preparations for war. Its most outspoken reception was in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, the center of a large Scotch-Irish population. Here on May 31, the militia companies being met for their muster, a series of resolutions was passed, declaring the commissions of civil and military officers null and void, and appointing a method of local government "until laws shall be provided for us by Congress." A copy of these resolutions was sent to England, where it is preserved, and they were also printed in a Charleston newspaper. The original was destroyed by fire, and being rewritten from memory survived in a form resembling the national declaration of independence. Many people have taken this paper, whose date, May 20, is supposed to be accounted for by the difference between new and old chronology, for the resolutions actually passed on May 31. This "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" is not supported by reliable contemporary evidence, and is now rejected by the best historians.

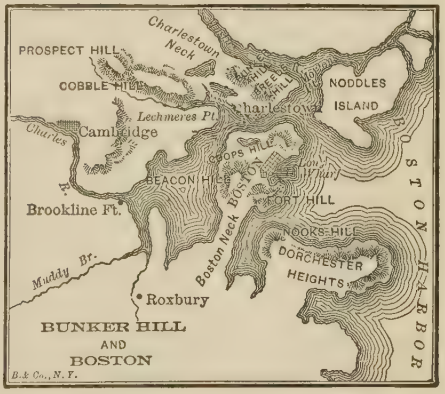
The Mecklenburg Resolves.

May 10, 1775, the second continental congress assembled in Philadelphia. Events in Massachusetts filled every heart with dismay, and preparations were made for war. The New England volunteers, which had been called out to the number of 20,000, were taken into the pay of congress, and Washington was appointed to the command. But still the conservatives hesitated to declare for independence, and to preserve harmony the advanced wing consented to defer that step. All united in a declaration of "the Causes and Necessity for taking up Arms," and made a last address to the king. The march of events was bringing the colonies inevitably to separation from England, and the progressives could afford to wait.

Second Continental Congress, 1775.

In this sense nothing could have been more propitious than the progress of the siege of Boston, where Gage, with more than 6000 men, was held in close lines. His position was insecure by reason of high ground behind Charlestown on the north and behind Dorchester on the south. If either place were fortified, his own position would be untenable. On the night of June 16 the Americans attempted to secure the former position, and for that purpose Colonel Prescott occupied Breed's Hill, constructing redoubts, at which the British opened fire from fleet and batteries early on the 17th. Prescott held his position, and throughout the morning groups of colonials came to his support. Gage saw this, and sent General Sir William Howe with a strong attacking column to carry the redoubts in front. Breed's Hill, like the adjacent Bunker Hill, which gave name to the battle, is on a peninsula whose upper part, a narrow plain, was commanded by the fleet. Had Howe taken this point and fortified it, the Americans must have hastened from their position or been starved into surrender. But neither Howe nor Gage had respect for the fighting qualities of their foes, and for their rashness paid dearly. It was in the afternoon when the regulars landed and slowly formed their lines along the shore. Prescott, following the best tradition of the American frontiersmen, ordered his men not to fire "until you see the whites of their eyes." At close range they delivered such deadly volleys that the attacking column recoiled, and fell back with great

Bunker Hill.



loss. Rallied again, they again were driven back. A third time they approached the crest, now supported by a body of marines, and moving carefully. At first the Americans fired effectively, and then, to the surprise of Howe, their fire ceased and they retired from the field. Their ammunition was exhausted, and they had no bayonets to withstand a charge. The British took possession of the crest, having lost over 1000 killed and wounded. The American loss was 441, and General Nathanael Greene remarked, "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price." This engagement was considered a brilliant victory by the Americans, and after it the revolutionary war was inevitable.

Washington in Command.

Washington, commander-in-chief, arrived in Cambridge July 2. The army was in confusion, supplies were lacking, enthusiasm was cooling, and many of the men were going home at the expiration of their terms of service. Had Howe, who succeeded Gage in command, attacked vigorously, the Americans must have given way. Washington's presence worked a change. He was a man to be respected; order reappeared, recruits came in, and the army recovered spirits. Supplies came from an unexpected source. Ethan Allen, of Vermont, acting on his own authority, raised a force of "Green Mountain Boys," surprised and captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which Fort St. John fell. At these points the British had left large quantities of guns and ammunition, which now proved very helpful to the Americans. Especially useful were the cannon, which were carried to Boston over the snow. Other important assistance came from an improvised fleet, one ship of which, the *Lee*, commanded by John Manley, took an ordnance brig with 2000 muskets with bayonets and a large store of ball and powder.

Ethan Allen.

Boston Evacuated.

Thus provided, Washington, in the spring of 1776, determined to force the siege to an end. March 4 he seized Dorchester Heights and placed cannon there. Howe sought to drive him away, but a storm luckily kept the British for several days from crossing the harbor, and when it subsided the Heights were too strong to be taken. Boston and the fleet were now at the mercy of the American guns, and Howe agreed to go away and leave the city without further damage if he was not molested. March 17 the departure began, the British carrying with them to Halifax about 1000 residents of the town who were loyal to the king, and some of whom had been so prominent on that side that they did not trust themselves in a community ruled by the whigs.

Loyalists in the Carolinas.

While Howe spent the winter inactive in Boston the British projected an expedition against the Carolinas, where the loyalists were numerous. It was expected that a fleet would easily take Charleston and overawe the rich planters of the South Carolina coast, who were the leaders of the

American cause in the colony. It would then go to the mouth of the Cape Fear, where it would be joined by a loyal army from North Carolina and the British authority would thus be reëstablished in the two colonies. Along the Cape Fear were many Highlanders, who had no sympathy with the whig doctrines, and it was certain that most of them would come out to defend the crown. In this province, also, were the Regulators, members of an organization which existed from 1767 to 1771 to deal with extortionate lawyers and exorbitant country officials in what were then called the "back counties." They at last rose in impotent wrath, whipped such lawyers as they could lay hands on, and broke up the Hillsborough court. Governor Tryon suppressed them at the battle of Alamance, 1771; at which most of the men now prominent in the revolution in North Carolina fought under the governor. The Regulators had good memories, they would have little to do with the whig movement, and when the news went abroad that a force was gathering at Fayetteville by command of the king to deal summary punishment to Caswell, Harnett, Ashe, and others of the old legislative oligarchy, they came to its assistance to the number of several hundred.

The Regulators.

Thus it was that 1600 Highlanders and former Regulators under Donald MacDonald started from Fayetteville February 18, 1776, to join the expected fleet at Wilmington. Caswell was on the alert, and they were intercepted by a whig force of 1000 men at Moore's Creek Bridge on February 27. In a sharp battle the loyalists were defeated, their baggage taken, and all who were not killed or captured were driven in confusion to their homes.

Battle of Moore's Creek.

Meanwhile the coöperating fleet was delayed, and it was the middle of April when it reached the mouth of the Cape Fear. Here it loitered six weeks until convinced that no successful demonstration would be made in the interior, and then it proceeded against Charleston. Six thousand militia held the town, and a fort of green palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island commanded the channel, Colonel Moultrie in charge. The British might have surrounded this work and forced it to surrender, but with characteristic contempt for the colonials, they tried to batter it down, June 28, 1776. Their solid shot only buried themselves in the soft logs of the fort, whose well directed fire swept the decks of the fleet, and the attacking party were glad to withdraw with the loss of only one vessel. The Carolinas were saved, the South remained unshaken, and the Americans were encouraged generally.

British Failure at Charleston.

At Boston and in the South the patriots acted on the defensive and succeeded. The result was otherwise in Canada, where they assumed the offensive. It was thought that the French Canadians would gladly throw off the British yoke, and in the autumn of 1775 two columns

marched against Quebec. One, led by Montgomery, 1500 strong, took Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, while another, under Arnold, starting with 1100 men, marched through Maine and came, after terrible sufferings, with only 500 survivors before Quebec. Here the two columns united, but a joint attack failed to take the place. Montgomery was killed, and Arnold remained through the winter before Quebec. The natives gave him no assistance. Reënforced, he was gradually forced back by Sir Guy Carleton, commanding in Canada, but by disputing every mile of the way he delayed his antagonist and prevented Carlton's coöperation in the movements which Howe, as we shall see, was about to make against the lower Hudson.

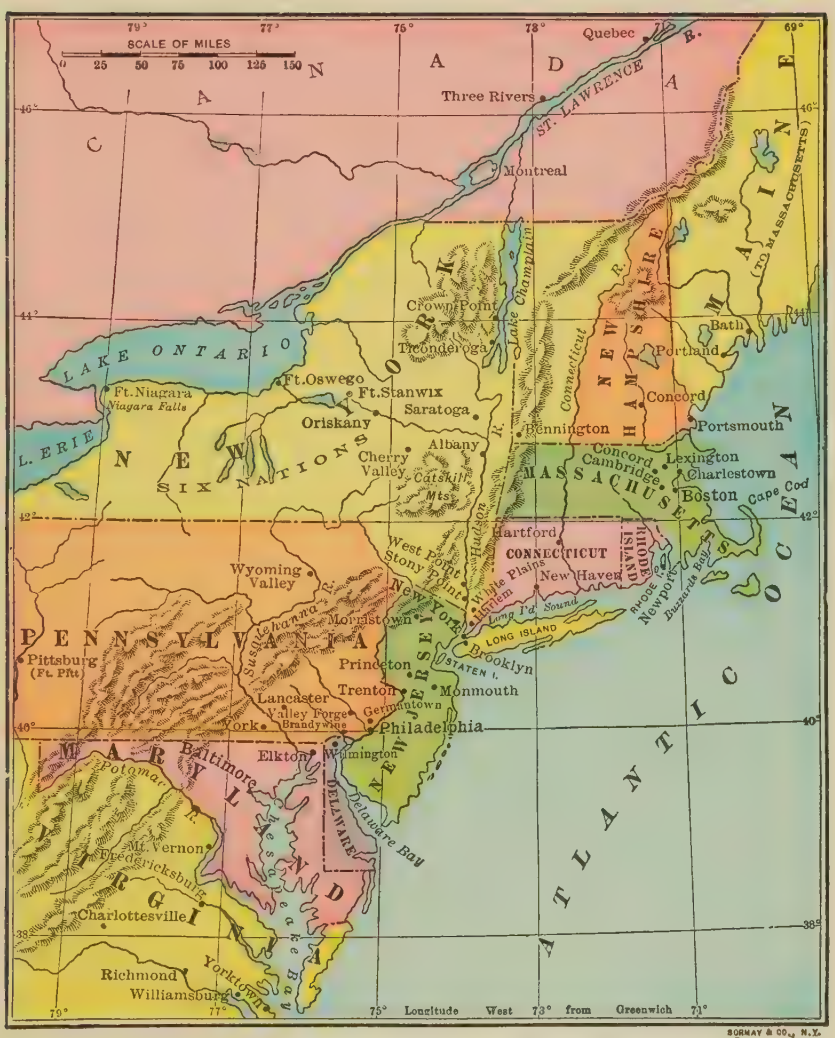
Expedition against Quebec.

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THE NORTH DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

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CHAPTER IX

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Declaration of Independence

By the close of 1775 only the exporters and merchants in England thought of yielding to America. The landholders, who controlled parliament, and Englishmen generally, believed that rebellion existed and should be suppressed. The king was for coercion. He would not receive the petition of the second continental congress, and when he heard of Bunker Hill, proclaimed the Americans rebels and forbade commercial intercourse with them. Parliament closed the American ports and authorized the impressment of American sailors for service in the royal navy. As further notice of the unyielding intention of the British, Falmouth, Maine (Portland), was burned in October and Norfolk, Virginia, on January 1, 1776. At this time the second continental congress was sitting in a second session, holding back such impetuous members as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, and waiting for sentiment to form. It was now so evident that the colonies must submit or fight that most of the conservatives gave up their opposition to independence. Jefferson expressed the general opinion when he wrote: "I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament proposes."

Converting the Conservatives.

In January, 1776, appeared at Philadelphia a pamphlet called "Common Sense," by "an Englishman." It stated the case of the colonies in the plain language of the people, and was widely read. What all had been thinking was here plainly stated. "The period of debate," said the author, "is closed. Arms, as the last recourse, must decide the contest. The appeal was the choice of the king and the continent hath accepted the challenge." At first this bold utterance was attributed to Franklin, but it soon became known that it was written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman then resident about a year in America. In later years he became unpopular on account of his writings against the Christian religion; but history cannot forget that he was an important promoter of the revolution.

"Common Sense."

By the spring of 1776 the conservatives were driven to the last ditch. They desired some form of colonial home rule which should preserve British sovereignty and leave the colonies a large measure

of self-direction. They were strong in the middle colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and New York, where the older settlements felt much apprehension at the prospect of a democratic upheaval which should disturb the political center of gravity. New England, Virginia, and North Carolina were clearly with the radicals, and South Carolina and Georgia were undecided. Colonial home rule was far from the thought of king and parliament, and as this fact became more apparent in America the more the conservatives found themselves at sea.

Waning Influence of the Conservatives.

While Congress thus hesitated in the hope of uniting the two factions within its membership, North Carolina, the one democratic Southern colony, authorized her delegates at Philadelphia to support independence. It was the step uppermost in the minds of the radicals, and other colonies followed rapidly. May 15 congress advised the colonies to continue no longer in the parlous state in which they then were, but to erect themselves into states, with governments resting on the consent of the people. The advice had already been anticipated by Virginia, where a convention met on May 5, and on the 15th declared Virginia independent of Great Britain. This action by the oldest and largest of the thirteen colonies had a most powerful effect on the hestitating ones. South Carolina and Georgia could not hold out longer, and Maryland and New Jersey showed signs of weakening.

State Action in Behalf of Independence.

June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia gave further evidence of the leadership his state had assumed when he introduced in congress three important resolutions. They declared: (1) that the thirteen colonies were and ought to be free and independent, (2) that foreign alliances should be made, and (3) that steps should be taken to adopt a general plan of confederation. The conservatives, led by Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who still clung to colonial home rule, suggested that the first resolution might well await action on the third, and the idea was adopted; but a committee consisting of Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston was appointed to draught a declaration. Preparing a form of general government proved a slow affair, and July 1 the question of independence was again taken up. Little discussion was necessary, and July 2 congress voted in its favor and called on the committee for a written declaration, the New York delegates refusing to vote. Then was brought in the famous paper, chiefly the work of Jefferson, which with slight changes was formally adopted on July 4. August 2 an engrossed copy was signed by the members present, some of whom were not in attendance on July 4, and later on some signed who were absent on August 2. By this time the New York delegates had been instructed to sign, and thus the declaration had the support of all the thirteen colonies. The report of the committee to prepare a plan of confederation was made

The Declaration of Independence.

July 12, but it met such opposition that it was not until November 17, 1777, that an agreement could be reached (see page 238).

The Declaration of Independence is one of the great documents of history. All that Locke and his followers in England and France had asserted about the nature of government was here re-asserted and made a practical matter. Here we read that "all men are created equal," that they have the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," to secure which governments are established, that the right to rule is derived "from the consent of the governed," and that when a given government ceases to guarantee these privileges, "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Here was stated the theoretical basis of the American government. In justification of the revolution the Declaration further set forth a long series of acts of tyranny committed by the king and parliament against which the colonies had protested in vain. It closed with the noble assertion that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states," and for the support of this assertion they mutually pledged to each other "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Its Content.

The Campaign around New York, 1776

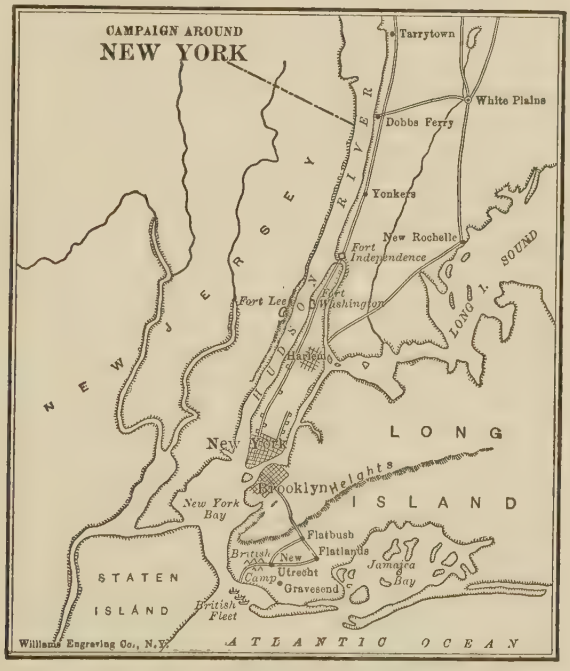
The central position on the Atlantic coast is New York. Howe, in Boston, well knew it, and would have gone thither directly had he not been forced to leave that city with a beaten army. His stay at Halifax was short. Gathering supplies and recruits he soon sailed southward, and June 25 was off Sandy Hook, welcomed warmly by Governor Tryon and the loyalists, whom the whigs had forced to leave the city. By the beginning of August he had 32,000 men on Staten Island, and an excellent fleet under his brother, Earl Howe, lay in the lower harbor.

Howe on Staten Island.

Washington also appreciated the importance of New York, and repaired thither with his army as soon as the evacuation of Boston gave him opportunity. He strengthened the defenses of the city, then on the lower end of the island. The approach by water was defended by works on Governor's Island, and at Paulus Hook (Jersey City), and Red Hook, on Long Island, and by obstructions in the channel. As a second line of defense, if such should be necessary, Forts Lee and Washington were constructed on opposite sides of the Hudson at a point near what is now 183rd street. So far the work was good; but reflection showed that the easiest approach was by way of Brooklyn, and that the key to that position was a wooded ridge, Brooklyn Heights, or the Heights of Guana, two miles behind the village and extending

The Defenses of New York.

from the Narrows to the northeast. It was passable by artillery at the shore, at Flatbush Pass, and at Jamaica Pass, the last six miles or more from the shore. To hold Brooklyn and this approach to it he detailed General Nathanael Greene with 7000 men. The rest, about 21,000, were distributed among the various fortified positions or held in readiness in the city.



Howe's first operations against New York, unlike his later movements, were energetic, and showed a disposition to utilize his advantage of superior strength. August 22, he threw a large part of his army across the Narrows and lay before Greene's force at the western end of Brooklyn Heights. This American commander was ill from fever, and Washington sent General Israel Putnam to take command. Putnam's courage and patriotism had been proved on many occasions, but he was not a commander either by training or natural endowment, and in this case he left the several parts of the army to take care of themselves. Howe's attack was made on the morning of August 27. Dividing his army into three columns, he sent the first to threaten the Americans along the shore, another was to move

The Battle of Brooklyn Heights, August 27, 1776.

through Flatbush, on their center, while a third, which he led in person, was to make a wide detour around their left. The turning movement was made in the night of August 26, and took Putnam completely by surprise. Knowing by the cannonading that it was time to advance, the first and second columns then attacked vigorously, and the Americans, taken in front and rear, were forced back into the defenses of the village of Brooklyn with a loss of 1500 men, 1100 of whom were captured.

Washington threw reënforcements across the East river to save the remnant of the army. He was reluctant to abandon the position; for the cliff-like "Heights" of Brooklyn, now the abode of the city's most prominent families, and not to be confounded with the scene of the battle of the 27th, dominated lower New York. A day's experience showed him that he had committed an error. If the British fleet forced its way into the river, he would be caught in a trap from which he could not hope to escape. That such a thing did not happen probably was due to a strong northeast wind which held for three days, and made it impossible for the ships to beat up the river. In the evening of the 29th Washington began to transfer his army in such boats as he could find. Late in the night the wind fell, and in the following morning a dense fog settled over the scene. Under its protection the army and all the supplies except a few heavy guns were removed to safety, to the extreme disgust of Howe, who had thought the victims all but taken.

The Escape from Brooklyn.

New York was now abandoned, the Americans retreating toward the north end of the island. A British force followed, but was beaten off in a rear-guard action, the Battle of Harlem, over ground on which Columbia University now stands. It was now, September 22, that Captain Nathan Hale, formerly a Connecticut schoolmaster, was hanged as a spy. He had volunteered to go into New York to obtain information, and when arrested avowed his mission. His dying words, "I only regret I have but one life to lose for my country," were soon repeated at every patriot's fireside in the land. For a short time there was an interval of inaction, after which Howe moved eastward to get around Washington's strongly intrenched position north of Harlem. At Pell's Point Colonel Glover, of Massachusetts, with 750 men held back the British column of 4000, inflicting a loss of 800, and by his spirited resistance changing Howe's determination to make a turning movement. The result was the battle of White Plains, October 22, an attack on Washington's front, delivered deliberately. The Americans were driven back after inflicting a serious loss. Howe had penetrated their lines, but a rain storm intervened, and Washington withdrew to a strong position at Newcastle.

The Battle of Harlem.

Nathan Hale.

White Plains, October 22.

Howe now gave up the idea of crushing his antagonist, who was clearly too wary for such a fate, and attempted to take Forts Washington and Lee. His ships had passed freely between them, and Washington told Greene, who was in direct command, to abandon them if it seemed advisable. He himself took steps to construct in the Highlands other defenses of the important river, which seemed to invite invasion from Canada. As the British threatened New Jersey, he moved a portion of his army across the river, thus dividing his force. Then Howe closed in on Fort Washington and forced it to surrender with 2600 men, the best in the American army. Rapidly moving across the Hudson he took Fort Lee with a large quantity of supplies, barely giving the garrison opportunity to escape to the western wing near Hackensack. The eastern wing, 7000 strong at Newcastle, was commanded by Lee, whom Washington vainly ordered to his aid in New Jersey. Lee was willful and selfish. Second in command, he enjoyed the prospect of promotion to first place if calamity befell his superior; and by his disobedience he was willing to contribute to that end.

Forts Washington and Lee Captured.

The Contest transferred to New Jersey.

Flushed by success, Howe now believed the war all but ended. His opponents were divided and discouraged, and many of their regiments anxiously awaited the end of the year when their terms of enlistment would expire. All this he well knew from the tories, who were numerous. It seemed easy to complete the destruction of a foe thus situated, and that honor he awarded to Lord Cornwallis, who with 5000 men moved quickly against the 6000 Washington now had at Newark. Under these circumstances, battle was impossible, and the campaign resolved itself into an American retreat. At Brunswick most of the Maryland and New Jersey militia marched home, spite of the pleas of their commander, because their terms of service had expired. Washington, left with only 3000 men, fell back rapidly, and December 8 placed his army with the baggage on the south side of the Delaware at Trenton. As he transferred his last battalions, the British vanguard arrived, but he had secured all the boats for seventy miles along the river and was safe for the time. To congress he appealed for help, urging that militia were inadequate, and asking that a continental army be enlisted for the war.

The Retreat through New Jersey.

Meanwhile, to many people, the cause of independence seemed doomed. Howe issued a proclamation, offering pardon to those who submitted, and 2700 people accepted it, among them the president of the New Jersey committee of safety. In Philadelphia, thirty miles from Trenton, there was great terror. Merchants closed their stores, congress adjourned to Baltimore, martial law was established, and the roads were thronged with fugitives. In its dismay, congress gave Washington full power to carry on the war as he saw fit.

Dismay of the Americans.

The manner in which he justified their confidence is one of the gratifying stories of the war. At Trenton was Colonel Rall with 1400 men, mostly Hessians, who by committing numerous outrages on the inhabitants had made themselves thoroughly hated. On Christmas night Washington undertook to seize this force. Dividing his army into three columns he ordered them across the Delaware to surround the enemy's position. Two were turned back by obstacles, but the third, with which he himself marched, reached the north bank of the river, advanced eight miles through a storm of sleet, seized the only road which offered a means of escape, and forced the Hessians to a battle in which Rall was killed and 1000 of his men were captured and carried safely into Pennsylvania. Immediately recrossing the Delaware, he again faced the enemy, who concentrated a strong force at Trenton and believed they were about to crush their opponents. But Washington, leaving his camp fires burning brightly, slipped away during the night, passed the British flank, and in the early morning of January 3, 1777, defeated a strong column at Princeton. From these two victories came a revival of hope, which promoted the enlistment of troops, and as the remnant of Lee's army had now joined, the worst of the recent danger was passed. Washington manifested his confidence by taking position at Morristown, New Jersey, where he was not disturbed. Howe, on the other hand, did not dare leave his army in outposts throughout New Jersey, and that province once more passed under American authority. Washington's military prowess has sometimes been questioned, and one cannot deny that there were long intervals when he seemed to be content to let well enough alone, but in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, as in the campaign against Yorktown, when spurred by a great necessity, he showed aggressiveness and resourcefulness of the highest order. Frederick the Great said that Washington's success from December 25, 1776, to January 4, 1777, was "the most brilliant" in military history.

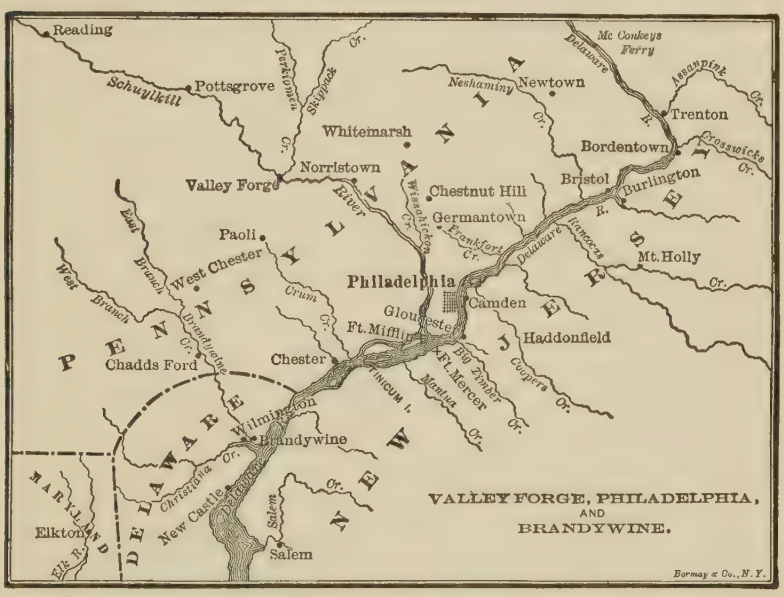
The Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

The Campaigns of 1777, Philadelphia and Saratoga

For a time events had seemed to confirm the hope of the king that the war would be short and easy. But the end of the year 1776 changed the prospect. "All our hopes," said Germain, the colonial secretary, in 1779, "were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton." In fact, when spring came in 1777, two years after the affair at Lexington, the British held no parts of the colonies except New York and Newport, Rhode Island. Elsewhere the people went quietly about their business, saw the whig politicians call provincial congresses and adopt state constitutions, read the laws of the continental congress, and gave a passive obedience to the new régime. But the call for soldiers was slightly heeded.

Indifference in America.

partly because the people were accustomed to look to the states for political authority, and had no love for the newborn congress, partly because of inherited jealousy of a standing army, and partly because there had in the past been so little popular participation in government that the ordinary man felt little responsibility on its account. Try as it might, congress could not raise an army. Making allowance for the tories and slaves, there were in the thirteen states in 1777 about 200,000 men of the military age, yet Washington, with power to offer as liberal terms as he chose, had in the early spring no more than



4000 regulars. Besides these, his hope was the militia, which the experience of the preceding year taught him to esteem lightly.

It was a small force to oppose the operations then being planned by the British government. Three strong columns were to coöperate in seizing the Hudson in order to cut in two the area of resistance; one under General Burgoyne was to move from Montreal by way of Lake Champlain; another under St. Leger was to march from Oswego through the Mohawk valley, and a third, Howe's army, was to advance up the Hudson from New York. The three armies were expected to meet at or near Albany. By Germain's carelessness, an order to participate in this movement was not sent to Howe, who, thinking himself free to fight where he chose, decided to take Philadelphia.

British Plans, 1777.

Leaving the militia of New England and New York to impede Burgoyne, Washington kept a sharp eye on the force in New York. To his astonishment that force first moved to Staten Island, then embarked on a great flotilla of 250 vessels. This action Washington considered a ruse, but as the ships stood southward the American army entered Pennsylvania. After some days of anxiety lest Howe, doubling his tracks, should get far up the Hudson before the Americans reached New Jersey, Washington at last learned that his opponents were at Elkton, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, thirty-five miles southwest of Philadelphia. He moved southward immediately to protect the capital, and on September 11 the two armies faced one another on opposite sides of Brandywine Creek. The Americans, including the militia, were 11,000, and the British 18,000. Howe used his superior numbers, as at Brooklyn Heights. Leaving 5000 men in front of Washington, he marched around the American right wing and placed his opponents between two fires. Washington was taken by surprise. While the flanking movement was being made he gave orders to fall on the British in detail. The attack was just beginning when an erroneous dispatch arrived, seeming to indicate that Howe's flanking movement was a feint. Then followed an hour's hesitation, by which the opportunity of defeating a divided foe was lost. The Americans threw themselves bravely on the two divisions, and by hard fighting held the field until night enabled them to withdraw in safety to Chester, each side losing about 1000 men. September 26 the British entered Philadelphia and began to fortify it.

Battle of Brandywine.

Most of the British army went into camp at Germantown, seven miles from Philadelphia, and Washington, hovering in the neighborhood, determined to surprise it early in the morning of October 4. He now had 9000 continentals to whom recent campaigning had given the fiber of regulars. The attack was made in a dense fog, which made the surprise a success, but led to confusion on both sides. But the Americans carried all before them and seemed to have won a victory, when six British companies took refuge in the stone house of Chief Justice Chew and offered such resistance that the attacking line was delayed until the retreating regiments could make a new stand. By that time reënforcements had come up from Philadelphia, and Washington withdrew from the battle with a loss of 1100 men, while his opponents lost 500. In December he went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, where he could keep his eye on Philadelphia.

British at Germantown.

Burgoyne's campaign was the sequel of the American expedition against Quebec in 1775. After Montgomery's death, Arnold remained in command of the invaders and contested every foot of the ground over which they fell back. Sir Guy Carleton, his opponent and governor of Canada, pressed

Arnold Delays Carleton.

him vigorously, and when Howe began his campaign against New York, August, 1776, the two forces had reached the northern end of Lake Champlain. To hold this lake each side began to construct a fleet of small boats. Arnold's squadron was weaker than that of his foe, but he directed it with great skill, and though twice defeated, delayed the British until early November, when Carleton concluded that it would be unwise to continue a progress involving the capture of Ticonderoga in the winter. He accordingly withdrew his entire force to Canada. Arnold's bold resistance had been of great service; for had Carleton found less opposition he would have reached the Hudson in time to join hands with Howe before Washington was able to escape out of New Jersey.

A practical difficulty now arose in regard to the command. Carleton ranked Howe in the British army, but the latter had been promised a free hand in America. To avoid an unpleasant clash of authority the command of the former was, therefore, by orders from England limited to Canada, and the conduct of the invading operations of 1777 was given to Burgoyne, a man of less ability. Carleton could only submit, but it was a bitter pill to see 8000 of his best troops march away in June, 1777. Of this force 675 went with St. Leger, the rest with Burgoyne, both columns accompanied by Indians.

Burgoyne in Command.

The main body were before Ticonderoga on July 1, and St. Clair, who commanded there with 3000 men, abandoned the place rather than allow himself to be besieged. The Americans withdrew in good order, fighting a sharp rear-guard action at Hubbardton. They were in good spirits, and by obstructing the roads made the enemy's progress tedious. Boats and supplies must be carried overland to Lake George, and from the southern end of that body of water by portage to the Hudson, at Fort Edward. It was July 29 before the latter place was reached, and another month passed before thirty days' rations were transported thither. By that time Burgoyne's commissary was so much depleted that he was impelled to replenish it by a raid in Vermont, then a part of New Hampshire. Thus was projected Baum's expedition to Bennington.

His Slow Advance.

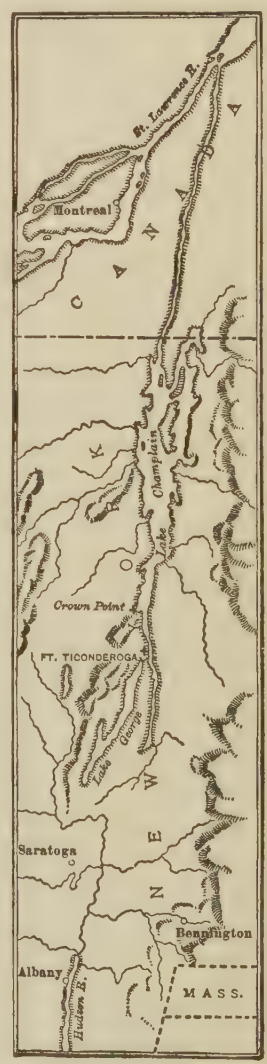
Burgoyne had been told that the people of Vermont were loyal, and he thought 500 men, all Brunswickers, enough for the task assigned to Baum. The event showed how much he was misinformed. The Vermonters rose in great numbers when they heard that the Germans were among them. They found an excellent leader in John Stark, until recently a colonel under Washington, but now without a command on account of the indifference of congress to his worth. Placed in command of the New Hampshire militia, he raised 800 men and was beyond the mountains before Baum knew of his movement. He came upon the Germans at Bennington, cleverly surrounded them, and in a vigorous battle on August 16

Battle of Bennington.

killed or captured nearly all. In the moment of victory a second body of British came up to reënforce Baum, and they too were defeated, the total British loss being 800.

St. Leger Driven Back.

Burgoyne heard the news with dismay. Hard after it came the information that St. Leger's expedition through the Mohawk valley was driven back to Canada. That officer had reached Oswego safely. Proceeding up the Seneca river to Lake Oneida, and thence by a short portage, he came to Fort Schuyler, or Stanwix, on the upper Mohawk. This post had, to his surprise, been recently strengthened, and was so well held by a garrison of 750 men that St. Leger was obliged to resort to a regular siege. By this time a large number of settlers, mostly Germans, occupied the valley. They were loyal Americans, and flew to arms under General Herkimer, who led 800 of them to the relief of the beleaguered fort. At Oriskany they marched into a trap set for them by St. Leger. But instead of retreating they leaped behind trees and stones and fought so well in the frontier fashion that the British were driven back to the fort, only to find that during their absence the garrison, sallying out of the walls, had entered the camp of the besiegers and carried off enough supplies to enable them to protract their defense many days. This success aroused enthusiasm in the American army on the Hudson, and Arnold, with 2000 soldiers, was sent to drive off St. Leger. That officer was now in extreme danger, and withdrew hastily to Lake Ontario, August 22, his Indian allies deserting in a body.



These two successes encouraged the Americans, and militia from New England and New York gathered daily at Albany and marched up the Hudson to meet the invaders. By September 1 they were 10,000, and a month later 20,000. Massachusetts sent a large number commanded by General Lincoln. At first General Schuyler was in chief command, but he was unpopular with the New Englanders, and dissension was imminent. To secure

Gates in Command against Burgoyne.

harmony, congress now sent General Gates, formerly an English officer who, like Charles Lee, had offered his services early in the war and had been made a major general. Like Lee, also, he had intrigued against Washington. He was loyal to the cause, but incompetent, and the success he now won was chiefly due to his able subordinates, Lincoln, Arnold, and Morgan. He placed his army across the British line of approach, at Bemis Heights, on the Hudson, about twenty-five miles south of Fort Edward. Before it Burgoyne appeared September 19, his force reduced to 5000 men by recent losses, by desertion, and by the necessity of leaving garrisons behind him. In front of this position, at Freeman's Farm, or Stillwater, was fought a very vigorous skirmish, in which the British lost nearly 500 men. Then Burgoyne, although his troops were on reduced rations, lay inactive for three weeks. October 7 he threw out his right wing to ascertain Gates's strength, and the result was another engagement at Freeman's Farm, the British loss being 600 men, several cannon, and much ammunition. Convinced that he could go no farther southward, Burgoyne turned about in an indecisive manner and came to Saratoga. His position was precarious, for the Americans had already appeared in strength on his line of communications; but had he acted with energy after the 7th he might have escaped to Fort George without entire defeat. His slow movements enabled his opponents to surround him, and at Saratoga, October 17, he surrendered his army, the conditions being that the troops should march to Boston, whence they might return to England with the understanding that unless they were exchanged they were not to serve again in North America during the war. Two weeks before the capitulation Clinton had started from New York for Albany with a naval and military force. He took Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and a part of his force reached Kingston, but at that point it turned back because the channel was too shallow for the ships. Thus ended the British campaign on the Hudson.

First and Second Battles of Freeman's Farm.

Surrender of Burgoyne.

Gates's terms at Saratoga were lenient, and were granted because of Clinton's demonstration up the Hudson. Though Burgoyne's troops could not again serve in America, they might replace European garrisons which were sent across the Atlantic, and as France was now about to join the United States they might be used against her. These reflections awakened keen disappointment in congress and out of it. Demands were made for the repudiation of the convention, but the same end was reached in a less outspoken manner. Burgoyne fell to wrangling over the quarters furnished his officers and declared the convention broken. This, it was said, indicated that the British themselves would not keep it, and it was decided to hold the captives until the agreement was ratified by England. When it was discovered that Burgoyne had failed to

The Convention Repudiated.

hand over some cartouch-boxes, congress made it the ground for openly repudiating the terms. Some of the prisoners were exchanged, most of the Germans were released to become American citizens, and the rest were held until the war ended. The British bitterly charged us with broken faith.

The Alliance with France

From the beginning of the revolution the Americans looked to France for aid, but when in June, 1776, Silas Deane arrived in Paris as an American agent he was not received by Vergennes, the foreign secretary. He found many friends in private circles, and when the news came that independence had been declared the attitude of the government changed, although open recognition was still carefully withheld. About this time the firm of "Hortalez et Cie" began to sell general merchandise in the capital, its largest dealings being with "Timothy Jones," of Bermuda, to whom were sold large quantities of ammunition and firearms. Those behind the scenes knew that "Jones" was in reality Silas Deane, that the merchant company was Beaumarchais, better known as a dramatist, and that most of the money with which "Jones" settled his accounts was derived from secret loans from the kings of France and Spain. Each monarch thus advanced a million livres ($200,000), with which Deane purchased 30,000 stands of arms, 250 cannon, and supplies of clothing. The British ambassador complained of these proceedings, but Vergennes put him off with fair words. In the autumn, Franklin and Arthur Lee were appointed to aid Deane. Soon after his arrival Lee quarreled with Deane and withdrew from Paris in anger. Franklin, however, remained, and by his simple manners and genuine kindness charmed all Paris. But he could not at that time secure from the king the recognition of American independence.

Early Aid from France.

With the French people he had better success, and the American cause became very popular in Paris. With the young French noblemen it became the fashion of the day to offer their services to the struggling American republic. Most of them were mere enthusiasts, and their offers were declined; but one, who was accepted, proved a notable exception. The Marquis of Lafayette, having come over at his own expense, arrived at Philadelphia with Kalb and twelve other French officers, just before the battle of Brandywine. He offered to serve in any capacity; Congress made him a major-general, and the results justified their action. Kalb, as well as Pulaski, a Pole, whom Franklin also sent to America, proved efficient officers, and both fell in the cause they espoused. We must not forget Baron von Steuben, a Prussian officer, who also came to help the Americans, and whose best service was to organize and drill the continental army.

French Volunteers.

Lafayette and Others.

In 1777 Vergennes was ready to give open aid to America if Spain would do the same. Before he could take the proper steps, news came that Howe was in Philadelphia and that Burgoyne had taken Ticonderoga, with the upper Hudson valley at his mercy. Vergennes's enthusiasm suddenly cooled, and even Beaumarchais began to despair. Then came, December 7, the story of Burgoyne's defeat. Beaumarchais, beside himself with joy, is said to have dislocated his arm in his haste to inform the king. Paris rejoiced as though Saratoga had been a French victory. Vergennes sent off messengers to Madrid urging the king of Spain to recognize American independence, and set to work at once on two treaties which, signed February 6, 1778, created political and commercial bonds between France and the United States. Each nation promised to make war on the enemies of the other, while the United States guaranteed the sovereignty of the French West Indies, with certain privileges in American ports. England and France were at war immediately, but Spain held back. She had a new ministry and would not encourage revolution in America; but in 1779 she declared war on England, not, however, as an ally of the United States. The action of France was undoubtedly due to her desire to weaken England, but it is due to Vergennes and Louis XVI to say that they treated the United States generously. If they had demanded harder terms, we must have accepted them.

Treaties of Alliance, 1778.

The battle of Saratoga had also its echo in London. Lord North, the prime minister, announced, December 10, a forthcoming scheme to end the war by conciliation. Two months later the plan was revealed, and in March, 1778, parliament approved. The coercive acts of parliament were to be repealed, full pardon was to be granted, and America was to have all she demanded except independence. Commissioners of pacification were sent to Philadelphia, but they found the Americans indifferent. Only British self-confidence could assume that in this situation the United States would desert the newly made French alliance and accept the old position of colonies.

England Offers a Compromise.

The French alliance came none too soon, for the winter of 1777–1778 was a gloomy period for America. Without funds congress could do nothing for the army, which suffered terribly at Valley Forge. Food was plentiful in Pennsylvania, but the farmers would not sell it for the depreciated continental currency, although they gave it readily in exchange for British specie at Philadelphia. In that city there was a festive season, loyalists were numerous, and, Saratoga forgotten for the time being, men began to think the continental cause desperate. From these depths the public mind was raised by the news that France would help with money, men, and ships.

Gloomy Prospects Retreat.

The spring saw a change in England's military plans. It was decided to take again the French West Indian islands, which had been handed back in 1763, and to carry out that program the war on the American continent was suspended. At the same time Sir William Howe was superseded by Clinton, who was ordered to concentrate his army at New York and to abandon Philadelphia if necessary. Obeying these orders, he sent off his heavy baggage and abundant supplies by water and marched with the army northward through New Jersey. Washington followed closely, and July 28, 1778, forced him to fight at Monmouth, where the Americans seemed to have the advantage. Washington wished Lafayette to lead the attack, but Charles Lee, just released from a British prison in which he had been conspiring to betray the Americans, claimed the honor, and was placed in command. When the British appeared in front of his position, he gave way after very little resistance. Washington, preparing to support Lee by an attack elsewhere, learned that the advance was falling back. Placing his troops across their way he checked the British advance, and with the reformed columns of Lee held the enemy at bay until night. Next morning the British were gone and reached New York safely.

Philadelphia Evacuated.

Battle of Monmouth.

While Washington checked the flight of his advance troops he met Lee, their commander. Suspecting treachery he broke forth in angry reproaches, which posterity has easily forgiven. Lee could do nothing less than ask for an investigation, and a court martial suspended him a year for disobedience and "misbehavior" before the enemy. During the year he sent congress an improper letter, and for that was dismissed. He was a vain and showy man, whose tall talking won him much respect when he threw in his fortunes with the Americans. The men who could understand him soon discovered that he wished to supplant Washington.

Charles Lee Dismissed from the Army.

Minor Events in the North, 1778–1782

The battle of Monmouth was the last general engagement in the North, but it was followed by several minor incidents which history cannot ignore. One was the operations of a French fleet under Count d'Estaing which arrived at Philadelphia nine days too late to intercept Lord Howe's squadron, sent to convoy General Howe's store ships back to New York. Prevented from following them by the assurances of the pilots that his largest frigates could not enter New York harbor, d'Estaing decided to attack Newport, Rhode Island, which the British had held since December 6, 1776. He had 4000 French troops on board, and 9000 Americans, mostly New England militia, were gathered at Providence

Siege of Newport.

to coöperate in the attack. As the British had but 6000 men in Newport, a great success seemed certain. Misunderstandings occurred from the first between the Count and Sullivan, the American commander, but the French troops were landed, and the initial stages of the siege were entered. Then Howe's British fleet appeared and offered battle, and the Frenchman, embarking his soldiers, sailed out to meet him. As the ships maneuvered for position a storm broke and both fleets must look to their safety. D'Estaing went to Boston for repairs, and his attempt against Newport was not renewed. Meanwhile Sullivan had invested the place and carried most of its outworks. He and his officers protested against the departure of the French; and when they heard that Clinton was sending a fleet and army to raise the siege, they withdrew from Rhode Island lest they be surrounded. An irritating controversy arose over the conduct of d'Estaing, and Washington, as well as the continental congress, interfered to make peace. In November the French fleet went to the West Indies, where its operations, though not brilliant, served to draw off part of the British forces from New York and left the Americans for a time in comparative peace. In 1779 the British army at Newport was withdrawn for the campaign against the Carolinas.

Reduced to inactivity, Clinton was fain to resort to the destruction of the towns he could reach by water. In May, 1779, Norfolk and Portsmouth, in Virginia, were destroyed, a hundred vessels were taken, and 3000 hogsheads of tobacco were carried back to New York. In July following, Tryon, commanding a body of tories, raided New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, all in Connecticut, leaving smoking ruins behind him. Such operations did not promote the conquest of the Americans, and only served to increase the horrors of war. In the same year Clinton moved up the Hudson and took Stony Point and Verplanck's Point in the Highlands. Two months later the former was retaken by General Anthony Wayne in a well-planned night attack, which greatly enhanced Wayne's reputation. But the Americans could not hold the place, and it was reduced to ruins.

Tryon's Raid.

Stony Point.

West Point, several miles higher up the river, was the chief reliance for keeping back the enemy, and its command was given to Benedict Arnold. This pathetic figure now approaches the end of a thorny path whose exit was complete calamity. No man in the army had better reason to complain of his treatment. After the death of Montgomery he was the life of the stout resistance in Canada, but he was passed over by congress when it promoted four less deserving brigadiers to the rank of major-general. At the time he was being investigated by a court martial on charges which were plainly the result of spite and of which he was completely exonerated. After that he was made a major-general, but was not given the rank to which his former rating entitled

Arnold's Disappointment.

him. In the Saratoga campaign he was the soul of the American army, and his leg was shivered as he charged recklessly in the second battle of Freeman's Farm. Gates hated him cordially, and Washington, too just to ignore his merit, made him commander in Philadelphia, after the withdrawal of Howe. Arnold was tactless, and soon quarreled with congress, whose former treatment he openly resented. Charges were brought against him, but an acquittal was had on all but two, and these were so trivial that they should have been ignored. But his enemies triumphed, and it was ordered that he be reprimanded. Washington, in executing the judgment, made the reprimand a eulogy: but Arnold was not pacified. During his residence in Philadelphia he had married Margaret Shippen, a noted wit and beauty in tory circles; and an extravagant manner of living had run him into debt. In disgust at his treatment by congress he decided to betray the cause he served. He applied to Washington for the command of West Point, the request was granted, and a bargain was made by which the post was to be given up for 10,000 guineas and a brigadier-general's commission.

Major John André was Clinton's adjutant. He was young, intelligent, and socially popular; but he did not mind playing spider to Arnold. While the British army was in Philadelphia he was a friend of Margaret Shippen, and he conducted the correspondence by which Arnold was led into mischief. September 21, 1780, the two men met near Haverstraw to complete the treason. Arnold handed over plans of West Point, with a description of its garrison, and gave André a pass to return to New York. As the latter approached "Sleepy Hollow," near Tarrytown, he was stopped and searched by three "skinners," American marauders, who found his papers and carried him to the nearest American post. A report was sent to Arnold, who fled quickly to the British. André was tried as a spy. He urged that he was a soldier on regular service and demanded to be treated as a prisoner of war; but the court martial held that wearing a disguise and carrying concealed papers fixed his status as a spy, and he was executed. Washington would have exchanged him for Arnold, but Clinton felt obliged to protect the traitor whom he had led into his present plight. West Point was saved to the Americans, but the price promised was paid. Arnold's foolish error blasted a brilliant career. Had he retired from the army as a protest against his wrongs, the justice of the future would soon have brought him vindication. In the British army his position was not pleasant, and it was said that just before he died he called for his old American uniform, saying, "May God forgive me for ever putting on any other."

André and Arnold.


LAKE MICHIGAN
Rock River
SAUKS
POTTAWATOMIES
Detroit
LAKE ERIE
NEW YORK
Sandusky
WYANDOTS
Maumee River
PENNSYLVANIA
Fort Laurens
Fort Pitt
DELAWARES
MIAMIS
Mississippi River
Illinois River
Missouri R.
St. Louis
Cahokia
Kaskaskia River
Kaskaskia
Vincennes
Wabash River
Ohio River
Louisville
Harrodstown
Logan's Station
Fort Jefferson
Miami R.
Little Miami R.
SHAWNEES
Muskingum River
Point Pleasant
Ohio
Kentucky River
Blue Licks
Boonesboro
Kentucky River
THE NORTHWEST
DURING THE
REVOLUTION
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Williams Engraving Co., N. Y.
90° Longitude West 85° from Greenwich 80°
40°

The War in the West

Before the revolution began, hardy settlers had crossed the Alleghanies from both Virginia and North Carolina. The Indians saw their advent with alarm, and in 1774 the settlements of Kentucky were ravaged. Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, marched against them and forced them to make peace after a sharp defeat, the Indians relinquishing their claims to Kentucky. This outbreak was known as "Lord Dunmore's War." When the colonists began to resist England, both sides sought to conciliate the savages of the West. The Indians, however, leaned toward the stronger side, and with British aid the Cherokees in 1776 began hostilities. The most exposed part of the frontier was the Watauga valley, in North Carolina. The inhabitants had warning, and retired safely into stockades. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia sent out bodies of militia which ravaged the Indian towns, and the Cherokees made peace. For a time the Watauga settlements had relief, but Kentucky continued to suffer from the Indians north of the Ohio.

"Lord Dunmore's War."

The Cherokees Conquered.

The British also had influence with the Iroquois, who aided Carleton in 1776 and Burgoyne in 1777. After Saratoga, the savages were not needed for large military operations on the Canadian border, but they were incited to raid the western settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. The most important action was a raid into the latter state by Colonel John Butler with a force of tories and Seneca Indians. They fought and defeated an American force near Wilkesbarre, and then devastated the Wyoming valley at leisure. Women and children were slain, and the rich valley was left desolate. In the same year, 1779, a band similarly composed inflicted ruin nearly as complete on Cherry valley, in central New York. A retaliatory expedition under General Sullivan laid waste the Seneca country and reduced the population to a crowd of starving fugitives; but their chieftain, Joseph Brant, gathered them into a fort at Niagara and continued the raids against the settlements. The employment of Indians by the British was strongly condemned by the Americans. The practice of paying them for scalps only added to the horrors of the war and did not hasten its end. Hamilton, British governor of the Northwest, who paid for many scalps, was called the "Hair Buyer."

The Wyoming Valley.

Cherry Valley.

After 1776 the Kentuckians were not left free from molestation, and this led to an act of retaliation which had a vast significance for the "Hair Buyer." The stroke was nothing less than the conquest of the Northwest, and George Rogers Clark was the author of the scheme. In January, 1778, he secured from Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, a commission as lieutenant-colonel with authority to raise 350 men for a secret expedition against

Clark's Expedition.

the British posts north of the Ohio. In May he set out from Wheeling, going down the Ohio to the falls, where Louisville was soon to be founded. After waiting here a month the expedition proceeded into what is now Illinois, directing its course to the French town of Kaskaskia. The place was taken by surprise and without resistance. The inhabitants willingly took the oath of allegiance when told that France was now an ally of the United States, and when promised religious toleration. The people of Cahokia and Vincennes also submitted on the same terms. Thus all the settlements of the Illinois country passed into the hands of Clark, who had less than 200 men.

The "Hair Buyer" Captured.

Hamilton, at Detroit, knew how weak was Clark's resources, and retook Vincennes in December. Feeling perfectly secure, he sent away all his troops but 80, and awaited the spring. He underestimated the determination of his opponent, who on February 5 set out for Vincennes with 170 men, some of them of French blood. Before him the road, 170 miles long, ran through a flat region, much of it covered by water. Around Vincennes the country was a shallow lake through which the command waded, sometimes up to the neck. To add to their sufferings, their provisions gave out, but luck sent them a deer, and three days later they captured an Indian canoe with some food in it. February 24 Clark came to Vincennes and invested the fort. Hamilton was completely surprised and next day surrendered. There was great joy in the western settlements when news came that "the Hair Buyer" was taken and sent to Virginia, where he was kept in close confinement.

Illinois County.

The western country was organized as Illinois county, Virginia. The French settlements remained under American protection until the end of the war, but Detroit continued in British hands, and from it went forth many Indian raids. Clark, now a brigadier-general, was anxious to take it, but was not given the requisite means.

The Navy in the Revolution

Small Cruisers and Privateers.

England's naval superiority gave the United States little opportunity for achievements at sea; but small cruisers well commanded might inflict severe loss on British merchantmen, and privateers might operate successfully. In December, 1775, congress ordered thirteen small men-of-war, and before the end of the conflict forty-three others had been placed on the ocean. Their average number of guns was twenty. Many of these ships were captured before they did serious damage to the enemy. Besides the continental ships, war vessels were owned by all the states except New Jersey and Delaware, but most of the state navies were for harbor defense. The ill disguised friendship of France early enabled us to use her harbors for the sale of prizes,

and several cruisers as well as many privateers operated from that safe base. Fitted out and furnished with a mongrel crew, such a ship would intercept British vessels off the French coast, or in the channel, or range along the British shore itself. Great Britain protested vigorously to France against the abuse of neutrality. Sometimes her complaints were heard and the American ships were warned to leave; but the Americans invariably came back, and others followed their example. When the war had gone on a year London merchants estimated their actual losses at £1,800,000, besides having to meet a great enhancement of freights and insurance. After the French alliance was made the profits from seizing British ships must be shared with Frenchmen. New England sent out most of the privateers, and her citizens reaped vast profits from the business.

John Paul Jones.

Of all our naval achievements during the revolution the most notable are associated with the name of John Paul Jones. Scotch by birth and christened John Paul, he made several voyages to Virginia, where his brother was settled. In 1773 this brother died, and John Paul inherited his property. About this time he changed his name, taking that of his friend Willie Jones of Halifax, who was probably that Willie Jones of Halifax, North Carolina, who led the radical element in that colony in the days of revolution. In December, 1775, he was appointed a lieutenant in the infant navy and hoisted the first flag on a regularly commissioned American war vessel. A year later he was a captain, and in one ship after another displayed great activity and took many prizes. In one of them, the *Ranger*, in 1778 he cruised in the Irish Sea, entered by night the harbor of Whitehaven, and captured a sloop-of-war of twenty guns. This showed him what could be done by a daring man with a small squadron.

His Squadron.

By much entreaty he at last got from the French king four ships, which, added to one of his own, made a squadron to be reckoned with. The largest, the *Bon Homme Richard*, a converted Indiaman, carried 44 guns. Another, the *Pallas* carried 30, and the rest carried 36, 18, and 12 respectively. The crew was largely European, but all the ships flew the American flag.

Defeat of the *Serapis*.

August 14, 1779, the squadron began its memorable voyage. Passing along the west coast of Ireland and Scotland, destroying many prizes, it came off the east coast of Scotland, where a storm frustrated Jones's plan to destroy the shipping in Leith harbor. September 23, near Hull, he sighted forty merchantmen convoyed by the *Serapis*, mounting 50 guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, 28 guns. Jones gave chase and selected the *Serapis* as his antagonist. He ordered his other ships to do the same, but only the *Pallas* obeyed, her captain giving his attention to the *Scarborough*. The engagement resolved itself into a conflict between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*. At the first fire two of the American guns burst, and Jones, realizing his inferiority in that line determined

to close and board. At his first attempt the ships did not come alongside. Pearson, commanding the *Serapis*, called out to ask if the *Richard* had struck her colors, and Jones's answer rang back: "I have not yet begun to fight." A second attempt to come alongside proved successful, and Jones lashed the two ships together with his own hands. Then followed a severe hand to hand struggle which cleared the deck of the *Serapis* of defenders. After this had gone on for two hours, hand grenades fired the British ship and she was forced to strike. Jones's own ship had six feet of water in the hold and was on fire. She sank two days later. The *Serapis* and the *Scarborough* were carried into port as prizes. Jones established the tradition for heroism in the American navy. He was personally eccentric, and congress was slow in recognizing his services.

The participation of France in the war relieved the United States of the necessity of contending against England by sea. It also promoted the formation of the league of Northern powers for "armed neutrality." England used her immense naval power with little regard to the interests of other nations. She impressed seamen and seized neutral goods not contraband as freely as she found them on foreign ships. The other nations were equally interested in the policy that "free ships make free goods," except as regards contraband articles. This principle was asserted before our revolution by individual writers and even by states, but it had not the force behind it necessary to secure its acceptance. In 1778 France, whose goods were now being seized, asked Russia to head a movement for united protest. The request was accepted, and out of it proceeded the "Armed Neutrality" agreement, signed at first by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, but later accepted by Prussia, the Netherlands, the German Empire, Portugal, Naples, Turkey, and the United States. The acceptance of the league by the Netherlands led England to make war on that power, although another reason was given for this breach of an ancient friendship. Thus England's war against the colonies had enlarged its scope until she saw arrayed against her, besides the colonies themselves, France, Spain, and Holland.

The League for "Armed Neutrality."

The Campaign in the South, 1778–1781

Having failed to conquer the North, the British concluded to make their next attempt in the South. They were told that the interior parts, inhabited by small farmers who had not keenly felt the restrictions on commerce, were largely loyal, and would welcome the arrival of a force strong enough to afford them protection. The plan adopted was to begin with Georgia, the weakest of the Southern states, and to roll up the South from that point. Accordingly, in December, 1778, the work

British change their Plan of Attack.

began with the seizure of Savannah, from which place strong columns proceeded to occupy the interior. To deal with the situation General Lincoln was sent to assume command in the South. He found the British general, Prevost, in the act of subduing South Carolina and was able to drive him away from the vicinity of Charleston. Then d'Estaing appeared off the coast, and a coöperative attack on Savannah was begun. Here, as at Newport, the French admiral was soon out of sympathy with the American general, and sailed away, alleging that he could not expose his ships to the autumn storms of a dangerous coast. As soon as he was gone Clinton came south with a strong fleet and an army of 7000 men and began to besiege Charleston. Lincoln unwisely allowed himself to be shut up in the city, and in May, 1780, was forced to surrender with 5000 men. South Carolina was now at the mercy of the enemy, who marched at will through the interior. The governor of the state fled to Philadelphia to implore aid from congress, and no American army worthy of the name existed in the state. A mere remnant was in the field under Colonel Buford, but Tarleton's Legion overwhelmed it at Waxhaw. Some of the Americans escaped, but 500 asked for quarter. For reply, Tarleton fell on them with sabers and pistols, leaving 113 dead and 150 so badly wounded that they could not be moved. This harsh affair and other less notable examples of British cruelty cowed the people. But much resentment was also stimulated, and the result was the organization of several partisan bands which kept up a vigilant warfare against such small detachments of the enemy as fortune sent their way. Of the partisan leaders the most famous were Sumter, Marion, Pickens, Clarke, and Davie, the last being of North Carolina. Clinton did not esteem these bands highly. He thought the province well reconquered, and early in June returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis with 5000 men to hold what had been taken and to extend the conquest into North Carolina. The British were pleased. At the end of four years' fighting, one colony, Georgia, had been forced to receive her repudiated royal governor, and in another the revolutionary government had collapsed.

Charleston Taken.

Partisan Bands.

To save the situation, congress sent General Gates into the South. The appointment was against the advice of Washington, who suggested Greene; but the "hero of Saratoga" was still popular. Charles Lee, who knew him well, offered this advice: "Take care that your Northern laurels do not change to Southern willows." Gates had 3000 troops, half of them militia, and in August attacked Camden, an important position in central South Carolina held by Lord Rawdon. Had he moved promptly, he might have won the fight, for his force was the stronger; but by delaying he allowed Cornwallis to arrive with reënforcements, and the battle, fought August 16, was a crushing defeat. The militia, from

Gates at Camden.

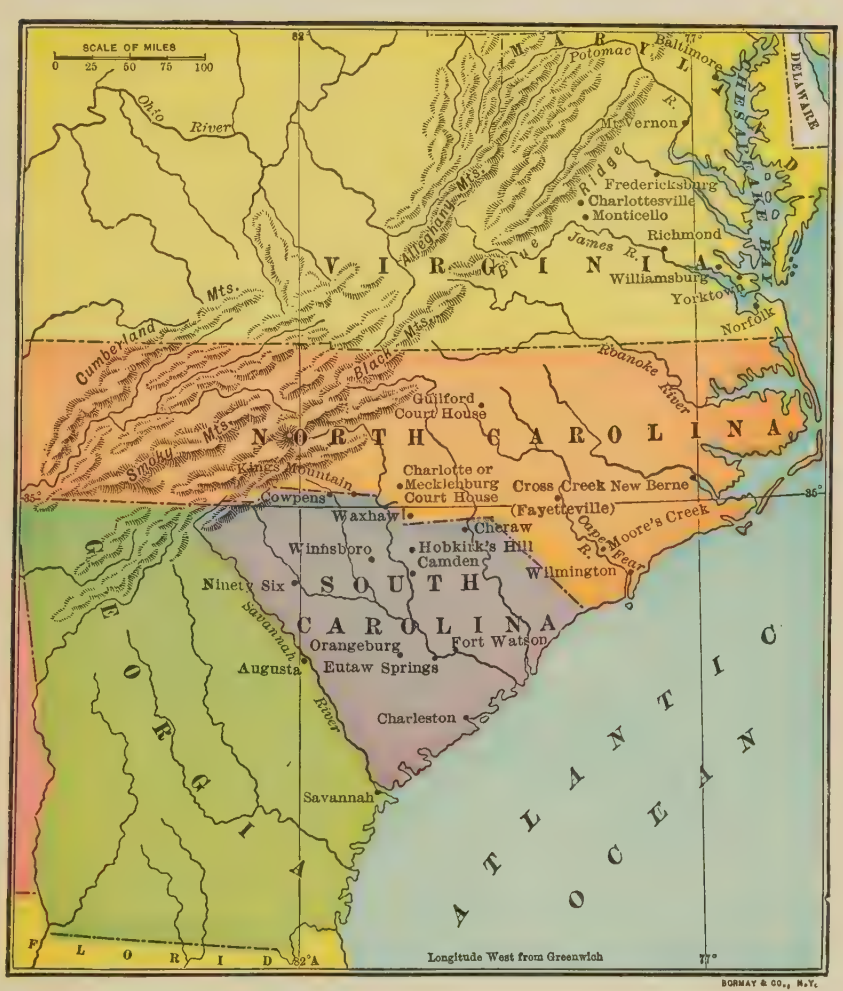
Virginia and North Carolina, fled at the first attack, and the regulars were surrounded and badly cut to pieces, while Kalb, who fought bravely, was killed. The total American loss was 2000 killed, wounded, and captured; that of the British was 300. Gates rode sixty miles that summer's day, and did not cease his flight until in four days he reached Hillsborough, North Carolina, 180 miles from the scene of his defeat. He tried to call out more militia to oppose the enemy, but his day was past. December 2, he was succeeded by General Greene.

Battle of King's Mountain.

Before that time, the British had met their first check in the South, at King's Mountain, October 7, 1780. After Camden, Cornwallis moved into North Carolina, gathering food and horses. He halted at Charlotte, — where the Mecklenburg Resolutions of May 31, 1775, were adopted, — while Major Ferguson, with 1000 tories, scoured the country to the west, collecting supplies and enlisting recruits; for that country was strongly loyal. The whigs fled before him, and alarm spread even to the transmontane settlements of Watauga and Kentucky. From this distant region, bands of mounted men, under leaders of their own choosing, marched eastward, September 26, to bag Ferguson. Having crossed the mountains, they were joined by 510 North Carolinians and 400 South Carolinians, a total force of 1800. Ferguson heard of their approach and moved toward Charlotte. Thirty-five miles from that place, he came to King's Mountain, the northern end of which is cut by the state line. It is a hill sixty feet high, flat at the top, a third of a mile long, and Ferguson believed it impregnable. On its top he placed his 900 men and awaited attack. The whigs were riding hard behind, and October 7, a picked band of the best mounted arrived at the hill, surrounded its base, and began a vigorous attack. On alternate sides they charged up the slopes and then fell back, using whatever cover they could find. Early in the fight, Ferguson was killed, and at the end of an hour the white flag was raised: 700 survivors surrendered; the rest were slain. It was a small battle, reckoned by the numbers engaged; but it was very important. It forced Cornwallis back into South Carolina, it gave courage to the whigs in the Carolinas, and it checked the advance of the British until Greene could arrive and organize his defense. It marked the change of the tide in the South.

Battle of Cowpens.

Greene, now in command of the American army, had 2300 men, half of them regulars. Cornwallis outnumbered him, and all his troops were trained soldiers. Greene, therefore, did not attack, but in his camp at Cheraw awaited the purpose of his opponents. To encourage the whigs west of him, he threw out General Morgan with 600 men to threaten the British post at Ninety-six. This divided the American army, and Cornwallis,



THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE SOUTH

at Winnsboro, tried to get between the two wings. He sent Tarleton to drive Morgan off to the Northwest, while he himself moved northward. Morgan was an excellent officer and was not to be caught napping. He had recently been joined by Pickens with several hundred men, and fell back rapidly. But January 17, he offered battle at Cowpens. Tarleton's troopers were exhausted by a five hours' march, but they charged impetuously, thinking the Americans would flee before them. Morgan's army was drawn up in three lines, the first a body of skirmishers who were ordered to begin firing when the enemy was at fifty yards and to fall back on the second line, composed of 270 militiamen under Pickens. This line was to await the approach of the British, fire two volleys, and then fall back to the third line, which contained 290 Maryland regulars, two companies of Virginia militia, and a company of Georgians. Morgan had a total force of 940, and Tarleton had 1150.

When the first and second lines began to fall back as ordered, the British believed the victory won and advanced in disorder. To their surprise they found the third line in good formation and resisting them hotly. Thrown into disorder, they sought to restore a regular line under a rain of bullets, when Pickens's men came up on their left flank, while a small body of cavalry, hitherto out of sight, came up on their right. Finding themselves surrounded, 600 troopers threw down their arms after 184 had been killed or wounded. The Americans also took some important stores, and their loss was 72 killed or wounded. The battle had two important effects: it showed that the Americans could fight effectively when well led, and it nettled Cornwallis and induced him to march far astray into North Carolina in an unwise effort to repay on Morgan the defeat of Tarleton.

Tarleton Defeated.

The situation was now critical for the Americans, since 125 miles separated Greene and Morgan, and Cornwallis was between them, about fifty miles from the latter. Operations resolved themselves into a race across North Carolina, the two American wings ever drawing closer together and the British commander bending every effort to crush Morgan while still detached. Greene knew the danger, and, sending the left wing northward, rode across the intervening country and joined the right wing January 30. Morgan was a soldier by instinct, and his alertness now saved the day. He beat Tarleton at Cowpens in the forenoon and began his retreat in the afternoon of January 17. Seven days later he crossed the Catawba. Cornwallis was then only twenty miles behind, but he had to halt two days to collect supplies, and when he came to the Catawba, floods had raised the water so high that he must wait five days before he could cross. Fifty miles to the northeast is the Yadkin, which Greene, now in command, crossed February 3, Cornwallis coming up in time to seize a few of his wagons; but here again the rising of the

river gave the Americans an advantage. At Guilford Court House their two wings united; but Greene did not feel strong enough to risk a battle, and marched for the Dan river, which he reached safely. Meanwhile, militia from North Carolina and Virginia had been sent to him, and with his army raised to 4400 men he recrossed the Dan and offered battle at Guilford Court House. Cornwallis's force was only 2200, but it was composed of regulars.

Battle of Guilford Court House.

March 15, 1781, the two armies came to blows. The Americans were in three lines, with intervals of 300 yards. The first was composed of North Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, and the third of the continentals, in numbers 4400. On either flank was a small body of cavalry. The first was ordered to fire two volleys and retire behind the third line; but at sight of the British it fired only a partial volley and fled. A few of these men, however, joined other bodies of troops and fought through the battle. The second line gave way before a bayonet charge, but did not leave the field. Against the third line, Cornwallis found it necessary to put forth his best efforts. He was at first driven back, but rallied his troops for a desperate attack, before which Greene withdrew in good order, but with the loss of his artillery. The Americans lost 1307, including the 1046 militia who dispersed to their homes. The British lost 532, and, after vainly waiting several days to see if the inhabitants would come to the standard, fell back to Wilmington, where they found a fleet with supplies. Greene followed for a while, offering battle, but when Cornwallis's destination became evident, he turned against the interior posts of South Carolina. The good generalship of Greene and Morgan, the long and tiresome marches in the North Carolina forests, and the unwillingness of the inhabitants to join the British, had shown here, as formerly in New Jersey, that the British could not expect to recover any other part of the country than that which they held by actual occupation.

Greene in South Carolina.

News that Cornwallis was sent back to his ships at Wilmington, and that Greene was coming to drive Lord Rawdon out of the interior of South Carolina, aroused the American spirit in that state. It brought grave alarm to Rawdon, commanding in South Carolina, who was at Camden with 1400 men, while small garrisons held Ninety-six and other posts. Greene proposed to strike at Camden first, and ordered a South Carolina force under Marion, Sumter, and Lee to cut the communications between that place and Charleston and join him for the final stroke. Meanwhile, he took up his position at Hobkirk's Hill, two miles from Camden. Rawdon dared not let the two American divisions unite, and marched out to crush Greene, March 25. Greene awaited the attack, but was driven from his position after a sharp engagement. His army, however, was still intact, and Rawdon,

after burning Camden, fell back to Monck's Corners, 30 miles from Charleston. Post after post was now retaken, until at last only Ninety-six held out in the western counties. Greene besieged it so closely that Rawdon with two new regiments, just landed at Charleston, marched to relieve it. Greene raised the siege and eluded his enemy, who destroyed Ninety-six rather than undertake to defend it. The British power was now driven back toward the coast as far as Orangeburg, and against this Greene, his army recruited to 2600, marched late in August, 1781. Stewart, the commander, fell back, but was overtaken at Eutaw Springs, September 8. Greene attacked and seemed to have the victory, but Stewart rallied his troops at a brick house and drove the Americans from the field; but he was forced to retire, with a loss of 700, to Charleston. In Georgia a similar movement had resulted in driving the British into Savannah. In General Greene's nine months' warfare in the South, he fought four important battles, lost them all, and yet gained, in the long run, all the results of victory. This singular fact was due to his steady self-control and his ability to bring his army out of a repulse without demoralization.

Battle of Hobkirk's Hill.

British driven back to Charleston and Savannah.

While Greene's work thus progressed, the army which he declined to follow to Wilmington was approaching its doom in Virginia. Cornwallis left the Cape Fear, April 25, and, marching leisurely through eastern North Carolina, reached Petersburg, Virginia, May 20. Here he found over 3000 British troops under Arnold, who for five months had marched at will through the region adjacent to the James river. Richmond and Manchester had been burned, and Portsmouth had been fortified as a base of operations. Harrying Virginia, however, did not secure its submission. When the redcoats had gone, the people resumed their former defiance. At Petersburg Cornwallis superseded Arnold, and at the head of 5000 troops turned toward Richmond, where Lafayette, commanding the American forces, lay with half as many troops. The British general must have felt that the province was nearly conquered, since it had in the field to oppose him, at the end of a five months' campaign, in its very center, no more than 2500 men. It was, in fact, long marches rather than men and muskets that put an end to the British power in America.

Cornwallis in Virginia.

Lafayette left Richmond as the enemy approached, and Cornwallis sent Tarleton to break up the legislature at Charlottesville. The task was accomplished brilliantly, and Governor Jefferson barely escaped from his residence at Monticello ere it was surrounded by the British troopers. Cornwallis, meanwhile, continued to chase Lafayette in the region north of Richmond. Convinced at last that the pursuit was useless, he withdrew to Portsmouth, and in August moved his base to Yorktown, which he fortified. With him were

7000 men. Lafayette, with his forces reënforced to 3500, was between Yorktown and Richmond.

At this time Washington, with about 6000 men, lay watching Clinton in New York, and Rochambeau, with 5000, was at Newport. About the time that Cornwallis moved to Yorktown came a letter from Count de Grasse in the West Indies offering the coöperation of his fleet during the summer. Here was a brilliant opportunity, and Washington seized it. De Grasse was requested to go to the Chesapeake, blockade Cornwallis, and drive off a relieving squadron; Rochambeau, by orders of his own government under the command of Washington, was brought to New York, where, by feigned activity, Clinton was made to believe that he was to be besieged; and finally, with admirable celerity, a combined American and French force numbering 6000 was moved to the head of Chesapeake Bay and thence by water to the James river, where it landed, and, joined by Lafayette, instituted the siege of Yorktown, September 2, 1781. To his great contentment Washington found that De Grasse was already at hand and that the fleet had brought 3000 additional French troops who were at his disposal. Thus Cornwallis's 7500 men in Yorktown were surrounded by 16,000 enemies, of whom 7800 were French regulars.

Cornwallis Surrounded.

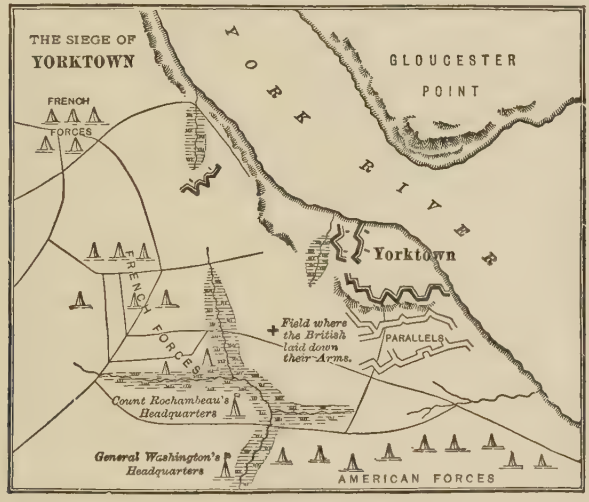
Clinton, alarmed for Cornwallis's fate, sent Arnold with 2000 men to raid New London, hoping thereby to draw Washington from Virginia. It was the region in which Arnold was born, but he did not spare it. A part of New London and thirteen ships were burned. Fort Griswold, on the other side of the river, held off a storming column until resistance was impossible. When it was taken, Colonel Ledyard, in command, and nearly a hundred of his men were cut down in cold blood. But Arnold was unable to penetrate further into Connecticut and returned to New York, his ships laden with spoils. Clinton also sought to aid Cornwallis by sea. Admiral Graves, with five ships, sailed for the Chesapeake. Within the capes was De Grasse, who came out and gave battle so vigorously that Graves returned to New York much disabled. Another expedition for the relief of Yorktown was fitted out at New York, but it sailed too late to be of service to Cornwallis.

Arnold at New London.

Meantime, the siege went on vigorously. The Americans and French seized the high ground around Yorktown, and their first line, along the entire British front, was completed by September 29. Immediately a first parallel was begun, and then a second, which by October 12 brought the besiegers to within 300 yards of the British lines. Two redoubts stood in their way. Since they commanded his own lines, Cornwallis would not abandon them, and until they were taken, the American lines could not be advanced. They must, therefore, be stormed, and the task was divided between the French and the American troops.

Siege of Yorktown.

October 14, in the night, a French detachment under Colonel Deux-Ponts carried one, and an American force under Colonel Alexander Hamilton carried the other. Cornwallis's defenses were now at the mercy of his opponents, and he tried to escape across the river to Gloucester; but a storm blew his boats down the stream after only a portion of his force had crossed. His defenses crumbling under the hot American fire, he could resist no longer, and on the 17th raised a white flag and accepted Washington's terms. October 19, the surrender was signed, the land forces becoming prisoners to the United



States and the naval forces prisoners to France. The total number surrendered, including seamen, was 8000, and 580 of the British had been killed or wounded in the siege. The combined French and American loss was 274. At the moment of surrender Cornwallis pleaded illness and sent his sword by General O'Hara. By Washington's direction it was received by General Lincoln, who had been forced to surrender Charleston, and was by him handed back to O'Hara.

Cornwallis Surrenders, October 19, 1781.

After Yorktown the military history of the war is of slight interest. Both sides realized that the struggle must end with victory for the Americans. After six years' fighting and at great expense, England had proved her inability to subdue the country. Each great expedition into the interior became a failure when deprived of succor from the coast; and such would be the result indefinitely. In confession of her failure, all the Southern posts were abandoned, one after the other, — Wilmington in January, Savan-

End of the War.

nah in July, and Charleston in December, 1782. In New York Clinton awaited the result of peace negotiations, which were already begun.

The Treaty of Peace

The surrender of Cornwallis broke the English resistance. Before it occurred, the English nation was tired of a war which only accumulated debt without winning victories. March 5, 1782, parliament passed a bill to enable the king to make peace. Fifteen days later Lord North resigned, and the whigs, under the leadership of Rockingham, formed a new ministry, with the understanding that American independence should be acknowledged. It was a bitter pill for the king, whose plans for a personally directed ministry was staked on the issue of the war. That he had lost was the only grain of comfort a discerning Englishman could find in the situation. In July, Rockingham died and Shelburne became prime minister, but the policy of peace was not changed.

The King Beaten.

After some preliminary inquiries in reference to the terms likely to be demanded, negotiations began at Paris in the summer of 1782. To Franklin, our minister to France, were added, as American negotiators, John Jay, who for a long time had been fruitlessly seeking to induce Spain to become an ally of the United States; John Adams, minister to Holland; and Henry Laurens, a prisoner in England until the negotiations were nearly completed. Great Britain was represented by Oswald, a Scotch merchant who was in close communication with Shelburne.

Peace Commissioners.

The American commissioners were instructed to proceed in open coöperation with France, but Jay satisfied himself that Vergennes, directing the policy of France, would sacrifice the interests of the United States, and he began to favor a separate treaty with England. Personally, Vergennes seems to have been disinterested, but he was under obligations to Spain, who feared to enhance the power of the new republic in the West. In September came from him an informal proposition that the region south of the Ohio be set aside for the Indians, part of it under the protection of Spain and part under that of the United States. At the same time it was intimated that at the conclusion of peace, France would support England's claim to the territory north of the Ohio. This scheme, if adopted, would leave the United States merely a seacoast power. If it should come before a conference composed of all the parties to the war, it could not fail to have the support of Spain and England, and, with France's additional advocacy, must be adopted. Franklin trusted Vergennes, but the facts of the case, ably set forth by Jay, induced him to consent to make a separate arrangement with England, which was pointedly against the instructions of the American commissioners. An intermediary was sent to

Separate Negotiations with England.

England, where the ministry, glad to settle the difficulty with one power so that they might be the more free to deal with the others, fell in with the suggestion, and on that basis negotiations proceeded smoothly.

Vergennes's conduct has occasioned much discussion. Some persons have supposed that he wished to keep America dependent on France, others that he acted in good faith and was unjustly suspected by Jay and Adams. He undoubtedly hoped that Louisiana would some day come back to France, and this fact has suggested that he wished to keep the United States out of the Mississippi Valley in order that it might be more easily secured by France. The theory, however, does not explain why he should have been willing to enhance the power of England in the northern part of the valley. Probably the most acceptable explanation is that he cared little about the disposition of the interior, and merely accepted the proposed arrangement to please Spain, to whose interest alone it was that England should have the Northwest; Vergennes's indifference in the matter is shown by his calm acquiescence when in December he learned from Franklin that the American commissioners, on November 30, had concluded a separate treaty with England to be effective when peace should have been made between France and England.

Vergennes's Conduct.

This treaty, after recognizing the independence of the United States, dealt with four principal heads, each of which had been fully discussed. The boundary was all we could have desired. On the northeast it ran up the St. Croix river to the source, north to the highlands separating the tributaries of the St. Lawrence from the streams flowing into the Atlantic, thence with the highlands to the forty-fifth parallel, and along that to the St. Lawrence. It was then to pass along the middle of rivers and lakes to the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods and thence due west to the Mississippi, down which it went to the thirty-first parallel and along that to the Chattahoochee, thence southward to the mouth of the Flint, whence it ran in a straight line to the source of the St. Mary's, and thence to the Atlantic. The British posts within this line were to be given up as soon as possible. A secret clause provided that if in the general peace England retained West Florida, its northern boundary should be a line from the mouth of the Yazoo east to the Appalachicola. The navigation of the Mississippi was to be open to both nations. No arrangements were made for running the boundary line, and as geographical knowledge was then imperfect, trouble occurred when the succeeding generation came to interpret that part of the treaty which referred to the northeastern and the northwestern boundaries.

Terms of the Treaty.

Boundaries.

The Americans were anxious that the New Englanders should continue to have their former facilities in the fisheries, and after much

difficulty it was agreed that the Americans might fish on the Banks of Newfoundland and wherever else they had been in the habit of fishing, and that they might land and cure fish in any uninhabited parts of Nova Scotia, Labrador, and the Magdalen Islands, but not in Newfoundland. For this concession, so important to New England, Adams's pertinacity was chiefly responsible.

The Fisheries.

On boundaries and fisheries, the treaty thus favored the United States. On the two other important points of discussion, the payment of British debts and compensation of the loyalists it ought, thought the British commissioners, to favor England. But their contention was vigorously resisted. Franklin thought the debts were properly canceled, because parliament, by closing the American ports and inflicting the horrors of war, had destroyed the power of the debtors to pay these obligations. Adams and Jay were anxious to preserve the credit of Americans, and the demands of the British were accepted, at least negatively. It was agreed that no legal impediment should be placed in the way of the payment of any debts owed by American to British subjects. As to compensating the loyalists, the commissioners held out a long time. King and ministers were insistent; for they believed that England was in honor bound to succor those whose fortunes had been seized because they were true to the crown. The Americans were equally unyielding, because they looked on the loyalists as wicked conspirators, authors of much bloodshed, and proper victims of the popular wrath. In one of the discussions of the subject, the American commissioners said that congress could not order a state to repeal its confiscation laws, and that the limit of its authority was to recommend a repeal. The English commissioners, anxious to close the negotiations, caught at this expression, and it was agreed that congress would make the desired recommendation. The result was a double interpretation. Englishmen, under the necessity of defending the treaty, assured the public that the advice of congress would be received by the states as binding. The American commissioners authorized no such impression. When, as later happened, the states paid no attention to the advice of congress, the British public charged the United States with breach of faith.

British Debts and Compensation to the Loyalists.

When this preliminary treaty was announced in parliament, there was an outburst of anger which produced a change of ministry. Hartley was sent to Paris to replace Oswald, and he was ordered to make better terms. He did his best, but the American commissioners would not give more than they had already promised, and September 3, 1783, when a general peace was signed by all parties to the war, the treaty completed on November 30, 1782, was accepted as defining the political relations between England and her former colonies. It did not deal with commercial matters, a subject reserved for much irritating discussion in the future.

A General Treaty, September 3, 1783.


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
Lake of the Woods
L. SUPERIOR
MICHIGAN
HURON
ERIE
ONTARIO
Sault Ste. Marie
Detroit
Ottawa R.
Montreal
Quebec
St. Lawrence R.
Disputed Ter.
Penobscot R.
Kennebec R.
VIRGINIA
MASSACHUSETTS (AND VIRGINIA)
CONNECTICUT (AND VIRGINIA)
Claimed also by New York
Claimed by New York
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Yazoo R.
Chattahoochee R.
Savannah R.
Hudson R.
ST. NIAGARA
Oswego
Albany
MASS. & N.Y.
NEW YORK
Portsmouth
Boston
MASS.
CONN.
NEW HAMP.
LONG I.
PENN.
Trenton
Philadelphia
Pittsburg
NEW JER.
MD.
Baltimore
St. Joseph
St. Louis
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
Nashville
NORTH CAROLINA
Cape Hatteras
SOUTH CAROLINA
Wilmington
Cape Fear
GEORGIA
Charleston
Savannah
Claimed by Spain until 1795
Natchez
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
New Orleans
Pensacola
St. Augustine
FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Cuba
TROPIC OF CANCER
THE UNITED STATES
At the Close of the Revolution,
Showing Western Land Claims of States.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 300 400 500
92° Longitude West 87° from Greenwich 82° 77° 72°
97° 92° 87° 82° 77° 72° 67°
50° 45° 40° 35° 30° 25°

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Civil Progress during the Revolution

The continental congress was a revolutionary body, and derived its authority from the success of the revolution. Since the Articles of Confederation were not adopted until 1781 the war was all but won under the sole direction of this body. It was composed of delegates chosen and paid by the states, and its votes were generally in accordance with instructions from the states. It did not levy taxes, direct or indirect, but merely made requisitions on the states for funds needed. It was little more than a convention of ambassadors from states acting together in a league or confederacy. This loose form of union was only slightly strengthened by the Articles of Confederation (see page 238). So weak a congress inevitably encountered many difficulties. It always lacked money and was forced to borrow at home and abroad and to issue paper currency which eventually became worthless.

The Authority of the Continental Congress.

The congress realized its inherent weakness and became so accustomed to it that it almost ceased to struggle against fate. It was badly organized, though it is difficult to see how a body with no more power to make itself obeyed could have prepared a better organization. Each state had a vote, each was jealous of its own interests, and the defection of any one would have been a serious calamity to the common cause. Nearly every vote on a debatable question resulted in compromise, or in a decision to do nothing. Under these circumstances the *personnel* of congress deteriorated; for the capable men preferred to serve the states rather than continue to sit in the body of do-nothings in Philadelphia.

Inefficiency of Congress.

The state governments varied in character in accordance with local conditions, but in New England they were more democratic than elsewhere. Thus, in New England, the executive was chosen by the voters, in New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia by one or both houses of the legislature, in Pennsylvania by a council chosen by the electors, and in New York by the freeholders worth £100 or more. No state had universal manhood suffrage. Three, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, required a voter to be a taxpayer; other states had a property qualification. The manner in which the royal governors had interfered in politics, proroguing assemblies, deferring elections, and continuing in existence houses which did their will, had created by reaction a strong love of frequent elections. Accordingly in nine states the governor was to be elected annually, in New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware triennally, and in South Carolina biennially. In six states both houses of the assembly were to be elected annually, and in two more, Connecticut

The Character of State Government

and Rhode Island, the lower house was to be chosen semi-annually. South Carolina elected assemblies biennially, and the other states, New York, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia elected the lower houses annually, and the upper houses for longer terms.

State Sovereignty.

In the beginning of the revolution little was said about sovereignty. The common danger was the great fact of the time, and men were chiefly concerned about how to secure enough union to meet it effectively. But as time passed, and the central power became more and more a fact, and as a group of leaders continually urged that it ought to exercise many of the powers then exercised by the states, a disposition was manifest to define more closely the powers of the states. Thus arose the contention that sovereignty rested with states. It was supported by the logic of the situation. Far larger numbers of people loved the states than loved the central power. The politicians of the day had been bred under a system of state politics, and these politicians not only controlled the states, but they made up the very membership of the continental congress. The result was seen in the committee of congress which prepared the Articles of Confederation. They voted down every effort of a few enlightened men to establish a central government with vital control of taxation, and devised a confederacy without the right to make its ordinary laws respected. Thus the belief in state sovereignty got a strong support in the day. We shall soon see that its inherent practical weakness proved its own undoing.

Functions of the States.

The state constitutions usually contained bills of rights; for it was to the state that the citizen was to look for guarantees of life and property. The pre-revolutionary contention was that the colonies should not be subject to legislation by parliament but should make laws for themselves. They were not now apt to lay aside this contention in order to create a congress which might take over the function just denied to parliament. It took years of confusion to make it evident that the small and disunited states were not able to establish a successful government in general affairs. At present no such conviction existed, except in the minds of a few intelligent ones to whom the majority paid little attention.

Republicanism Inherent.

It was natural that the government should be republican. So far as internal feelings were concerned, it had ever been republican. The monarchy had been, in the minds of the people, an affliction, a sign of oppression. Washington, it is said, refused a suggestion that he might become a king. Nobody will believe that he was ever willing to be king; but it seems certain that if he had appeared in that capacity his popularity would have dissolved in a day. The example of a numerous people setting out on a separate course as a nation with the flag of a republic over them aroused grave apprehensions in Europe. No great nation then

flew such a flag. Switzerland was not a case in point, since it was divided by mountains into natural states and protected by its physical inaccessibility from outside attacks.

The revolution had many leaders from the older politicians, but its fundamental support was the mass of small farmers. As a popular movement it aroused the apprehension of the wealthy classes. It was one thing to establish a republic and another to attempt an absolute democracy. Moreover, to hold that all men should participate equally in government was against the practice of any colony. The question was debated long in the bodies that made the state constitutions, and the division between democratic whigs and conservative whigs which then appeared was a forerunner of the party divisions which began in the first years under the national constitution. The question hinged on the suffrage and qualification for officeholders. As already said (page 217), the suffrage was everywhere restricted in some way. The conservatives were able to force a compromise which gave them a firmer control of the upper house of the legislature than of the lower house. In some cases this was by requiring that a member of this house should own a relatively large amount of property, or that only well-to-do men should vote for him. In some cases the upper house was appointed by the lower, and in Maryland it was chosen by an electoral commission selected for that purpose by the freeholders. While the war lasted it was not advisable for the whigs to wrangle over these points, but there came a day when the compromises of the revolution were no longer acceptable, and one by one the old restrictions on equal participation in government were removed. This democratic movement belongs to the history of the second generation after the revolution (see page 472).

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CHAPTER X

THE FIRST YEARS OF PEACE, 1783–1787

Financial Embarrassments

The first years of independence were naturally full of difficulties. An immense debt, state and continental, must be provided for, trade, interrupted by the war, must be reëstablished, the vast tracts of western land must be developed, society must be readjusted on a purely American basis, the bitterness felt by the patriotic party for the tories must be allowed to cool, remnants of local jealousies must be dealt with, and the feeling for union, so weak that the Articles of Confederation were but "a rope of sand," must be strengthened and formed into a central government which could command respect at home and abroad. Many persons felt that these embarrassments could not be surmounted. They thought chaos would ensue, and after that would come some violent reorganization which would result in two or more states under some kind of European protection. They did not understand the practical quality of the Americans, who, through many years, had boldly solved new and formidable problems, and who, under the lead of men like Washington, Hamilton, Madison, John Adams, and James Wilson, discovered a way to bring the people to accept an efficient form of central government, under which financial, industrial, and social difficulties disappeared. The years 1781–1787 were full of these perplexities: the three years following saw them passing away through the efforts of the people.

Doubts and Hopes.

The expenses of the revolution were met by taxation, loans, and issues of paper money. Congress could not lay taxes, but made requisitions on the states, receiving from this uncertain source half a million dollars a year. From foreign loans $7,830,517 was received during the war, and so great was the distress that of this sum $1,663,992 was used to pay the interest on the domestic debt. The foreign loans were derived as follows: from France $5,352,500, from Holland $1,304,000, and from Spain $174,017. During the next six years over $2,000,000 was borrowed abroad, most of it to pay the interest on the foreign debt. Nevertheless, in 1790 we still owed $1,640,071 foreign interest. The domestic continental loans of the war amounted to $28,353,832, and as the interest on these was not paid after March 1, 1782, there was in 1790 an arrearage of this kind of interest amounting to $13,030,168.

The Revolutionary Debt.

The state debts in behalf of the war were very large. Some states were paying their portions as fast as they could, others were doing little or nothing in that way. No suggestion of assumption had yet been made. After the enactment of Hamilton's assumption scheme in 1790 the national government assumed these debts to the amount of $18,271,787. The condition of the debt was a blot on the country's honor and plainly indicated that the tax-laying power of congress ought to be strengthened.

Continental Money.

The first issues of continental paper money were moderate, and for a year the bills passed at par, but as larger quantities were emitted they depreciated rapidly. In two years their value as compared with specie was three to one, by September 1, 1779, it was thirty-eight to one, and in March, 1780, fifty to one, nearly $200,000,000 being then in circulation. Depreciation continued until the ratio was one hundred to one. In March, 1780, congress called in the currency at forty to one, to be paid in taxes and destroyed. It also provided for a "new tenor" issue at forty to one, bearing interest at 5 per cent. About $120,000,000 was thus paid in and canceled. After 1790 the government redeemed $6,000,000 more at one hundred to one, and the rest was lost to the holders. The continental currency became an object of popular contempt, and in 1781 a facetious fellow of Philadelphia plastered his dog with dollar bills and led him through the streets to the amusement of the onlookers. The states also issued paper money, about $200,000,000 in all. It depreciated alarmingly, and much of it was not redeemed. This large amount of unredeemed money, continental and state, was a forced contribution from the people who held it, and involved a great sacrifice on their part for the cause of independence.

Discontent in the Army.

The wretched state of the finances brought congress to the verge of conflict with the army, which in the last winter of the war remained in camp at Newburg, on the Hudson, watching the British force in New York while the negotiators in Paris completed their task. The pay of the soldiers was badly in arrears, and they began to fear that if they went home without it they would lose it entirely. Some of the officers inflamed their suspicions, and in January, 1783, an address in their behalf was presented to congress. It contained a veiled threat of misfortune if redress was not granted. Congress could do nothing more than promise a month's pay, and the discontent increased.

Possible Results.

All this did not occur without arousing keen interest elsewhere. Gouverneur Morris, assistant superintendent of finance and an extreme advocate of stronger government, declared that good must come out of the convulsion he thought imminent. Hamilton, also hoping for a stronger government, but more practical as a public man, hoped that Washington would take control of the movement and through it force the country

to strengthen the hands of congress. He wrote cautiously to Washington to that effect; but all his calculations were lost. Washington was not supple-minded, like Hamilton. He was a man of simple loyalty, and he considered the threats of armed interference disloyal and dishonorable.

Part of the Speculators.

It cannot be said that men like Hamilton and Morris encouraged the dissatisfaction of the army, but the holders of the continental bonds were not so guiltless. This class was strong in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, former trading states where capital was thrown out of employment during the war. Agricultural states, lacking a market for their products, were in no position to invest in bonds, but were more likely to sell what they already had. Thus by 1783 the speculators had bought up the certificates of debt, and the representatives from the commercial states favored a strong financial policy, while the delegates from the agricultural states were not so urgent in the matter. Then the impression got abroad in the army that the capitalists in Philadelphia sympathized with the soldiers and would help them force the delinquent states to their duty. Early in March an agent of the speculators arrived at Newburg and was closeted with General Gates, second in command to Washington. On the tenth an address was secretly circulated, urging the men not to disband until they were paid, and warning them against any man who would counsel otherwise. At the same time a meeting of the higher officers was called for the eleventh.

Washington's Action.

Washington discovered the plot a few hours before the officers were to meet and acted with characteristic decision. He published at once a general order decrying meetings secretly called and openly appointing a meeting for the fifteenth. Gates was checkmated, abandoned his own meeting, but hoped to control the one just called, where as senior officer he would preside. No one thought the commander-in-chief would attend, but the deliberations had hardly begun on the fifteenth when he entered and took the floor to speak. Ordinarily of a quiet manner he was now agitated and greatly in earnest. He denounced the arguments of the secret address, assured his hearers that the best exertions in their behalf would be made, and left the room with the confidence of all but the chief plotters, many of his hearers being in tears. Resolutions were then offered full of patriotic utterances and expressing abhorrence of the recent secret circular. Gates, in the chair, put the question and had the humiliation to announce it was carried unanimously. Thenceforth the army was loyal. June 2 it was disbanded, and the soldiers went quietly home, their accounts unsettled, and, as Washington said, "without a farthing of money in their pockets."

One incident only marred the dispersal. A body of raw recruits were at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, their pay also in arrears. When

they heard the Newburg army was going home without pay they became mutinous, and eighty of them marched to Philadelphia, vowing they would have their rights. They were joined by some veterans, and marched through the streets, drinking, threatening, but attempting no actual violence. Congress applied to the Pennsylvania executive, a Council of State, for protection, but they replied that they dare not call out the militia lest they join the mutineers. Then congress adjourned, and after three days fled to Princeton. Philadelphia declared the flight unnecessary and thought it was instigated by delegates who wished to deprive the city of the honor of being the capital of the confederation.

Congress in Flight.

The financial distress of the day suggested a grant of taxing power to the central government. In 1781 the states were called upon to amend the articles of confederation to allow congress to collect an import duty of five per cent. All consented but Rhode Island, whose refusal defeated the proposition. Her very smallness made her jealous of the loss of authority, and her large dependence on commerce made her unwilling to surrender a part of what was her surest source of revenue. Virginia, who assented at first, withdrew her approval on reflection. The prospect of mutiny in the army led congress to take up the question again in 1783. This time imposts were to be laid for twenty-five years on specified articles, the proceeds to go to paying interest on the debt; and the plan was to be adopted if all the states consented. Now was seen how much more the states clung to their power with the disappearance of danger from England. Virginia and North Carolina accepted without hesitation, but other states held back. Impost and no-impost became slogans for two classes, merchants, owners of the public bonds, and those liberals who foresaw the advantages of union constituting one class, and the great body of farmers, shopkeepers, and illiberal persons who believed concentration would lead to despotism constituting the other. Interest and theory were combined on each side. After three years' debate, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania had granted the impost, and Delaware was willing if all the other states granted it. New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, and Georgia held out, or granted it on such conditions that the benefit was slight. The failure of this second attempt to give the central government authority to collect taxes made a deep impression on the people, before whom a proposition for a revision of the articles of confederation was already submitted.

Two attempts to give Congress the Taxing Power.

Industry and Trade after the War

Although the war greatly reduced exports of grain, tobacco, fish, lumber, and rum, and cut off the importation of a hundred useful

articles, it did not produce absolute distress. Food and the simpler articles of manufacture could be had in abundance; and while men fought for liberty they would forego finery. They were generally used to hardships and could bear them lightly when they would. When independence was won it would be time enough to think of making money.

Industrial Conditions.

But peace brought unexpected difficulties. The British ports were closed to us now as to other foreigners, unless we paid high duties. Continental ports were open, but England was the great manufacturing country of the world: it was her implements, cloths, and other merchandise we were accustomed to use, and how could we buy them unless we sent her our products? Have them we would, £3,700,000 worth in 1784, and as we sent to England only £750,000 worth in that year there was a mighty draining of specie to settle the balance. At the same time England laid a high duty on whale oil, a blow at our whalers, and the trade with the British West Indies, so lucrative before the war, was now forbidden by the navigation laws, in order to protect the British merchants and shipowners. Some men of the day resented the idea that we must trade with England. Was not France our friend and her ports open? But every merchant knew it was not possible to build up trade with France. We were bred on British commerce, and our taste would not change quickly. So while trade with the continent and in the Orient gradually reëstablished itself, it did not fill the want.

Trade with England.

It was, of course, England's interest to keep our trade, but it was hard to make her realize it. She seemed to think we could not choose but trade with her. Then retaliation was thought of. But no one dreamed that thirteen states could act effectively against England. It was a task for the central authority, and in 1784 congress asked the states to grant for fifteen years the right to pass a navigation law. As England had shown no willingness to make a commercial treaty, the power was also asked to exclude from our ports certain goods, the property of citizens of a nation not in treaty with us. The New England states were earnest for the measure, the Middle States supported it without enthusiasm, but the South suspected that it would lead to an advantage for the trading class at the expense of the farmers. So many restrictions were placed by the states on the exercise of the power that their votes granting it were futile.

England's Attitude.

Then diplomacy was tried. John Adams, in Paris, was appointed minister to England, with instructions to make a commercial treaty and secure the execution of the treaty of 1783. He arrived in London in May, 1785, and was received with marks of good will by the king; but the negotiation proceeded slowly. England understood her advantage. She commanded the situation and knew it. Why should she give up her ancient

Adams sent to London.

system to please America? Adams replied: "Because it is England's interest to cherish her trade with America, and if a hard policy is adopted America will trade elsewhere or build her own factories." The British merchants flouted the idea: America, they thought, could not establish manufactures, or trade elsewhere. After eight months of parley in which no progress was made, an answer came to Adams's propositions. America, it said, had obstructed the payment of British debts, contrary to the treaty of peace, and no concessions would be made, since we did not keep our agreements. Although Adams remained in London until 1788, he could get no further comfort. He was deeply humiliated, and advised that we should not succeed as long as we collected 10 per cent duty at Boston and paid as high as 50 per cent at Liverpool. He seemed not to realize that high duties at home would increase the prices of imported merchandise, lay an extra burden on our own people, and only injure England by lessening through high prices the amount of goods we imported from her. Nor was stronger government, as we now know, a sure cure for the situation, else why did we not retaliate after the adoption of the constitution? The only remedy was to manufacture our own goods, and it was not until thirty years later, after an eight-year period of isolation had intervened (see page 311) that we were able to begin to depend on ourselves in this respect.

The confiscation of British debts was a serious grievance. These were obligations of Americans to British merchants incurred before war began. The English commissioners for making the treaty insisted that they should be collected, and it was agreed that congress should recommend the states to place no obstacle in the way of such procedure. England was also anxious that the tories should be allowed to live in peace in the states. But the people were bent on confiscating the debts. England had made it impossible for the Americans to pay them by establishing a blockade and sometimes seizing the goods for which the debts were contracted before they reached the American harbors. As for the tories, they were much hated because they sided with the enemy in the war, and because in some states they took part in civil strife which destroyed much property and life. As trade concessions were not made and as the Western posts were not given up or the fugitive slaves restored, Americans took no steps to pay the debts or lessen the hardship of the tories; and the question remained a source of irritation for many years. Meanwhile, the tories moved away to Canada, where the mother country gave them land and aid in planting themselves, and the debtors largely evaded obligations by becoming bankrupt and moving to the frontier, where they were lost sight of, and so escaped suit for recovery of the obligations.

British Debts.

The need of a sound currency turned men's minds to bank notes.

Several states had established such institutions on moderate scales, but they did not answer the requirements of business or give the central government the facility it required in lending money in emergencies. This, it was thought, could be furnished better by a great national bank, patterned after the Bank of England. Hamilton suggested such a scheme to Robert Morris, superintendent of finance from 1781 to 1784. Morris probably had already formed such a plan in his own mind. At any rate, he got congress to charter the Bank of North America in 1781, with a capital of $400,000 paid in specie. It was enlarged to $2,000,000 in 1784. It had many difficulties, but managed to weather them all, and its notes were received at par. As doubt was cast upon its legality by repeated assertions that congress had no power to incorporate a bank, it secured a Pennsylvania charter in 1782, which though repealed in 1785 was renewed in 1787. When the old congress ceased with the establishment of the new government in 1789, the bank continued under the state charter. It did not receive recognition under the new régime, but its existence was uninterrupted, and in 1864 it became a national bank under the acts then recently passed by congress. In the dark period of 1782–1789 it did good service by lending money to the government at times when no other resource was apparent. Its first president, Thomas Willing, was an old business partner and friend of Robert Morris, and gave him steady support in the many arduous efforts by which the latter, as superintendent of finance, supported the struggling congress.

Capital and Banks.

Forming a New Society

The men of the revolution hated nothing more than monarchy and aristocracy. They realized that every step they took was likely to be a precedent, and were exceedingly suspicious lest some of the dreaded forms should get recognized. Posterity now thinks their fears were unnecessary. Probably not even Washington could have made himself king of a people so fiercely attached to their self-government. As for an aristocracy, which depends on permanent forms of hereditary wealth and rank, it is not possible that people who had so little of such forms could have tolerated their introduction. Primogeniture, which existed in colonial days in New York and the Southern colonies, and the assignment of double share to the eldest son in other colonies, were now done away with. Entails were abolished, and with them went manorial privileges, which had survived in New York and Maryland. The rights of the proprietors in Pennsylvania and Maryland were seized by the state, payment to the Penn family being made in the former, but none to the Calverts in the latter. But unequal suffrage was retained in one way or another in every state. In some only taxpayers could

Fear of an Aristocracy.

vote, in others only the possessors of property. Manhood suffrage came at a much later day.

Jealousy of rank flared up hotly when officers of the continental army seemed about to be elevated into a superior class. These officers, whose influence did much to induce the privates to enlist, were promised half pay for life with the advent of peace. The war was not over before a cry arose against executing the pledge. It would, said the objectors, create an aristocracy of the most dangerous kind, an aristocracy on a military basis. States passed resolutions, and so much excitement was manifested that congress commuted the obligation to a payment of five years' full pay in cash. Even this caused great indignation. Everywhere the people raged against a standing army, the greatest enemy to liberty. When it was disbanded in 1783, it was reduced to eighty men, enough to guard the arsenals at West Point and Pittsburg. Nor could congress be induced to create a stronger establishment. Motion after motion was rejected to raise a continental force to protect the frontier. The best that could be done was to recommend the states to raise 700 men for this purpose for one year. In 1788 the total strength of the army thus raised was 666 men and officers.

Half Pay for the Officers in the Army.

The popular dislike of a military aristocracy came to fever pitch when it was known that the officers before disbanding had formed the Society of Cincinnati. Its threefold object was to perpetuate the friendships formed in the war, to deliberate in secret on the welfare of the country, and to create an order membership in which should be an honor to pass to the eldest son to the end of time. It adopted an eagle and a blue ribbon as its badge, established state and central organizations, and arranged for regular meetings. The second and third objects of the order aroused most opposition. The mass of the people resented the idea that a group of any men, least of all military men, should secretly direct public opinion on political matters, and they wanted no hereditary aristocracy however formed. They acknowleged the services of those who fought for liberty, but felt the merits would be greater if such men took their places with other patriots in future efforts for good government.

The Cincinnati.

The opposition to the order was not confined to the unthinking people. Franklin, Samuel Adams, and John Adams were among those who raised a warning voice. They but did in a dignified way what a thousand less important men did hysterically. Denunciatory pamphlets were written by the ton. The society became an issue in the campaigns, and candidates pledged themselves against it in order to get votes. Legislatures disfranchised the members of the order, and the citizens of Cambridge, Massachusetts, petitioned that it be suppressed. Before such a tempest of invective the Cincinnati could not stand. Mem-

Denunciations.

bers who had political ambition renounced their allegiance, and others lost interest in a scheme which was so great a source of commotion. For a time the meetings were suspended, but in later years they were revived, and the society now exists as a patriotic order.

The Social Ideal.

The men of 1785 should not be measured by modern standards. Descended from the middle and lower classes of England, they had often had occasion to reflect on the disadvantages of a hereditary aristocracy. It was the English landed gentry that made up the party in support of the king's prerogative. The gentry had monopolized offices in state, church, and colonies, and the aristocracy had furnished a barrier across which American farmers could never expect to pass. The mass of the colonists, even the wealthy ones, were descended from those who had felt the burdens of an aristocracy. Opposition to such a form of society was inherent. Twenty years of struggle, political and military, had developed their passions and confirmed their hatred of the words "king," "nobility," and "privilege." They controlled opinion among their neighbors and determined the actions of state legislatures. They were the average men who were going to build the life of the nation.

Loyalty to the States.

Nor did their imaginations rise to the ideal of a great American nation. They were born into a struggle between crown and colony. Their first political ideas were to defend the colony against monarchical control. For them patriotism, political liberty, and self-government began with the defense of the colony. In 1776 they gave up with reluctance as much of state authority as would enable the states to act together for the continental cause. When the war was over, they did not cast off their opinions easily. The states acting together had won independence, and with the restoration of normal conditions could they not solve the simpler problems of peace? And if it should be necessary to strengthen the general government, they felt it ought to be done with the greatest care, reserving to the states, which they loved better than any great coming nation, all power not absolutely essential to future existence. The state, they felt, was the protector of individual rights, which were more important than the impression we made on the world as an American nation. Much inconvenience was endured before their hold on the popular mind was lessened and a stronger working plan of union adopted.

Attitude toward Tories.

Their attitude toward the tories was equally characteristic. They thought it was for the state to regulate the life of its inhabitants. It was for the state to decide what penalties should be imposed on persons who had aided the enemy in time of war, and who had carried the torch and sword into communities struggling for their dearest rights. If the states had lost, who could doubt what punishments would have been visited on the whigs? Those who took the sword should perish by it. Was it not, therefore,

a mercy to spare the miscreants their lives? and was it not wise to insure a homogeneous society in the future by driving away those who had supported the king's tyranny and still believed a monarchy the best form of government?

The lot of the loyalists was indeed hard, especially in New York. This city was in British hands throughout the war. Its merchants were largely loyal, and to it came for refuge king's true subjects from many towns in New England and the Middle states. While the war lasted, they bore themselves haughtily toward the whigs of the city, driving them away to New Jersey or Pennsylvania to escape insults and discriminations, and seizing their property when they were gone. Now the tables were turned. The outcasts returned to the city, hot for revenge. With great difficulty conflicts were averted when the two classes met on the streets. The legislature disfranchised all who would not swear they had not aided the enemy. In 1784 it passed a trespass act, giving the patriots the right to recover damages from tories who had occupied the houses of fugitive whigs. Many suits at once began, and the damages claimed were usually exaggerated. One of the first cases tried was that of a widow, Mrs. Rutgers, against Waddington. Alexander Hamilton, twenty-seven years old, was the counsel for the defendant, and argued so brilliantly that the court decided that the trespass act was contrary to law. Then followed an outburst of indignation. Meetings were held, pamphlets appeared, and the press teemed with threats for the tories who dared to remain in the city. North and South Carolina had suffered during the war from bitter internal strife, and here the feeling against the tories was exceedingly strong. Every state had driven loyalists into exile by law or by irritating practices which made their remaining unendurable; and the bitterness of the time yielded slowly to milder feelings. Spite of the efforts of the British government in their behalf and the interference of many liberal-minded whigs, the lot of the tories continued very uncomfortable. They were deprived of the franchise, their property could not be recovered in the state courts, and large numbers of them, estimated at 60,000, definitely abandoned their homes and settled elsewhere in the British dominions. Those who left the Northern states went chiefly to New Brunswick and Canada; those from the South went to Florida and the Bahamas. Great Britain felt obliged to succor them, and by 1790 had given them as much as $16,000,000, besides large tracts of land. The exclusion of the tories, largely of the upper class, strengthened the democracy of the day.

Hardships of the Tories.

The Western Lands

Seven of the states had claims to Western lands, founded on the terms of their colonial charters. They were Massachusetts, Connecti-

cut, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The other states looked with jealousy at the prospect of being swamped by these mighty neighbors when the lands should be well settled; and Maryland flatly refused to accept the articles of confederation unless these claims were relinquished. Promises to that effect were made before she finally signed, March 1, 1781. By 1786 all the claims to the Northwest were ceded to Congress with the understanding that when the vast Western region was settled, it should be divided into states and admitted into the union. Land from colonial times was the most popular form of property, speculations in it the foundation of many fortunes, and to the people of the day the possession of these immense Western tracts added greatly to the national resources, made the payment of the debt seem more probable, and promoted the union of the states.

"Northwest Ordinance of 1784."

Jefferson, then a member of congress, was deeply interested in these lands, and was chairman of a committee appointed to prepare a scheme for settling them. The report, spoken of as the Ordinance of 1784, provided for a number of states, fourteen or sixteen, north and south of the Ohio. Nine were marked out north of the river, and names were selected for them. One was to be "Washington," another "Saratoga," while others were given names of classical origin, as "Metropotamia" ("Mother of Rivers"), for the plain where several rivers rise, and "Sylvania," for the forest region west and south of Lake Superior. The report also provided a system of laws to be enforced until the states were admitted to the union. Its most important provision was the exclusion of slavery from the Western lands after 1800. Jefferson hoped earnestly that it might be adopted, but the Carolinas and Georgia thought they would by this means be excluded from a share in the settlement of the lands they ceded, and the provision was stricken from the report, which was then adopted by congress. The scheme was too complete for the Western conditions. The backwoodsmen who were already settling in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee needed a simpler government, and this was embodied in a second ordinance which ignored what had been done in 1784.

The Ohio Company.

In 1787 a newly organized Ohio Company, composed of Massachusetts men, asked congress to sell them one million and a half acres of land on the Muskingum river for $1,000,000, to be paid for in the bonds of the government, then worth less than 50 per cent of par. The application was urged by Manasseh Cutler, who proved himself a good lobbyist. He encountered much opposition from members of congress, who thought the price too low. Finally he joined with his scheme another purchase, in which the leading members took part, of 3,000,000 acres at the same price; and on that basis the two schemes were enacted. It was proposed to establish the colony at once, and by spring, 1788, an advance party of 47 began

to build the town of Marietta, the first settlement in what was to be the state of Ohio.

Just before the grant passed congress, that body hurried through the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, establishing a government for the territory northwest of the Ohio. It provided that the region north of the river should have a governor, secretary, and three judges appointed by congress; that when the population reached 5000 free men of full age, they should have an assembly of governor, council, and elected house of representatives. Not less than three nor more than five states might be made out of the region, and when any territory had a population of 60,000 it might be admitted into the union with equal status with the older states. The Ordinance of 1787 became the model for all the other territories and states carved out of the western domain. It contained a bill of rights, one feature of which was that slavery should not be tolerated in the Northwest. The South, which opposed the exclusion of slavery from the Ordinance of 1784, because it applied to all the West, made no objection to its elimination from the region north of the Ohio.

Second Northwest Ordinance.

In 1785 congress adopted a scheme for the sale of western lands, and it was applied to the lands of the Ohio Company. It ordered that the territory should be laid out in townships six miles square, or thirty-six sections in a township. Each sixteenth section should be reserved for the support of schools, and the Ohio Company was required to set aside two townships for a university. This township system has been generally followed in the West.

The Township System.

Before this time settlements had already been planted in what later became Kentucky and Tennessee. This region was widely known for its fertility and abundant game. Hunters went thither, and, charmed by the country, built huts, established farms, and fought off the Indians, who bitterly resented the invasion of their best hunting-grounds. The most famous of the adventurers was Daniel Boone, whose efforts opened Kentucky to the world. Leaving his home on the Yadkin, in North Carolina, he went, with a small party, to hunt in Kentucky. He loved the country from the first glimpse, and though robbed by the Indian, and warned to leave under penalty of death, and deserted by most of his companions, he roamed and hunted for a year and a half, and then spread such glowing ideas of Kentucky among the Yadkin people that in 1773 he set out with a band of settlers for the land of his dreams. Halted by Lord Dunmore's war he encamped in Tennessee, renewed his efforts with the return of peace, opened a road into the upper valleys and on to Louisville, where a trading post had long been established, and soon saw the country filled with hardy settlers who won their way against the dangers of Indian attack and the hard struggle of nature. The

Kentucky Settlements.

settlers were within the bounds of Virginia, but felt its yoke lightly. They were sufficient of themselves for the tasks before them. They considered the mountains a barrier to permanent connection with the states of the East, and looked already to the mouth of the Mississippi, the natural outlet of their trade. Wise men talked of the prospect of a great valley confederacy which, when strong enough, would sweep the Spaniard out of the way and take its place as an intracontinental nation.

What Boone did for Kentucky, James Robertson, with less of romance, did for Tennessee. By 1772 he had come with some hardy settlers from North Carolina across the mountains to the fair Watauga valley, east of the Cumberland mountains. They fled from the hard rule of Tryon, who was busy suppressing the Regulators. When they found they were not in the bounds of Virginia, as they first imagined, they set up a government of their own, with rules embodied in a written "Watauga Association." Many others came to share their lot, and by the outbreak of the revolution several valleys were dotted with their peaceful homesteads. John Sevier was of their number, and led them with men from Virginia and from the upper Yadkin to the victory over Ferguson at King's Mountain. When North Carolina began the struggle against the king, they organized the District of Washington and recognized the state's authority. In 1779 a party from Watauga, led by James Robertson, began the settlement of Nashville, on the Cumberland, many miles to the westward, and held it, spite of severe attacks by the Indians. Thus when congress established the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, the first work of colonization had already been done by hardy men acting on their own initiative in the regions which were going to be the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, but were still under the jurisdiction of Virginia and North Carolina respectively.

Tennessee Founded.

One picturesque incident in the West remains to be mentioned. When North Carolina ceded her western lands in April, 1784, she reserved jurisdiction over them until they were accepted by congress. News of what was done brought dismay to the people on the Watauga and Holston rivers. They wished to be protected from the Indians, and feared a period of nerveless government, during which congress would hold them as unprotected dependencies. To meet this, protect their land titles, and secure the continuity of orderly government, they launched a movement for a state government. They held meetings of regularly elected delegates, adopted a constitution, took the name of the "State of Franklin," chose John Sevier their governor, and asked congress to recognize them as a state. This happened in the latter part of 1784. Just at that time North Carolina revoked her act of cession, sent officers to execute her authority in the transmontane region, and brought civil war to the very doors of the western people. Congress

The "State of Franklin."

dared not antagonize North Carolina by intervening, and the people were unable to defy their eastern masters. At the end of two years Sevier's term of office expired, and, as no successor was elected, the "State of Franklin" fell into abeyance. He was then arrested for treason and sent across the mountains for trial, but friends interceded and he was not prosecuted. The incident shows the desire of the western people for self-government and the difficulty of ruling them as dependencies of the East.

Popular Dissatisfaction

The limitations which most of the states placed on popular government (see page 217) caused dissatisfaction, and struggles soon began to remove them. There was universal fear of a strong executive, and before the federal constitution was adopted, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, become a little more democratic, decided to have governors chosen by the people, and in 1790 and in 1792 Delaware and Pennsylvania did the same. In all the states but Georgia the judges were elected by the assembly or appointed by the governors. In most of the states it was as if the constitution-makers had erased the word "king" in the old charters and written the word "assembly" in its place. Yet this was a long step toward popular government; for the assembly represented the will of the responsible people.

Paper Money Demanded.

This predominance of the conservative classes was not received quietly in all the states. It gave too much power, it was thought, to men of property; and parties began to divide between the rich and the poor. The latter, suffering from the scarcity of money, desired to issue paper currency and urged the assemblies to pass laws to that end. The former thought of the effect on trade and opposed the demand. Connecticut, Massachusetts, Delaware Maryland, and Virginia resisted the cry. They all had conservative classes who were able to keep control of the situation. The victory was hard won in most of them, especially in New Hampshire, where a mob crying out for paper surrounded the meetinghouse at Exeter in which the legislators were assembled in 1786, threatening their lives if the demand was refused. They were dispersed by the militia, and their cause failed, probably because it was identified with mob rule. In the other states, seven in all, paper money was issued.

The "Know Ye" Men in Rhode Island.

In Rhode Island the agitation led to serious trouble. The merchants opposed the proposition, but the country people carried it through the legislature. Then the merchants tried to avoid the law. They closed their shops and refused to take the new currency. They were denounced as enemies of the people, and when John Weeden, a butcher, refused in 1786 to sell meat for scrip, he was haled into court. He was ably defended by Varnum, who urged that the state law violated the

constitution and was null. The judges sustained his contention and dismissed the case. This angered the legislature: they summoned the judges into their presence and delivered a reproof; and in the next election all but one member of the court were rejected. But the decision held, and after a time quiet was restored to the community. One of the certificates issued by the paper-money party began with the words, "Know ye," and the party came to be known as the "Know ye" party. They were ignorant people with real need, but they did not deserve all the contempt visited upon them.

Shays's Rebellion.

The farmers of western and central Massachusetts were strong for paper. They were in debt, and many suits were entered against them in the courts. They hated the lawyers who prosecuted the claims and the rich men in Boston, whose influence predominated in the legislature. They found a leader in Daniel Shays, whose fervent appeals stirred them to a frenzy of rebellion. At Northampton and Worcester they broke up the courts in order to defer the trial of the cases against them, and elsewhere they held the quiet people in terror. Finally they besieged the town of Springfield, and seemed to have the whole western region on their side. Governor Bowdoin assembled an army of 4400 men under General Lincoln and sent it against them in the winter of 1786–1787. Shays fled as Lincoln approached Springfield but was pursued and defeated at Petersham, on February 3, 1787. His men dispersed and he was captured. Resistance was at an end, but the feeling for the insurgents was so strong that he was not punished, and Governor Bowdoin was defeated at the next election by John Hancock, who as Professor McLaughlin says, "loved nothing better than sunning himself in the smiles of the crowd." Shays's Rebellion alarmed many a sober friend of government in every state. It seemed that the foundation of government was breaking up, and that the often predicted chaos was at hand.

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CHAPTER XI

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

The Articles of Confederation

June 12, 1776, the continental congress appointed a committee to prepare a plan under which the states could act together in the future. Two schemes came before this committee. One was suggested by Franklin in 1775, and provided for a congress with representation based on population. The other was prepared by John Dickinson, of Delaware, and provided for equal representation of states. Here appeared the deep jealousy of the small states for the large ones. The latter clung tenaciously to their opinion, but yielded for expediency's sake. Every state was needed in the struggle then beginning, and the smallest was in a position to win concessions if it only stood firm. The committee reported July 12, but the matter was deferred, after a short discussion, until it could be considered by the states. It came up again in the autumn of 1777, the delegates having had ample time to learn the state of opinion at their homes. Again the large states tried to change the will of the small, and again they failed. A confederation of equal states was better than no confederation at all. The articles passed November 17, but they were not to be binding until approved by all the states. They were a compromise in which the least progressive side won. As congress said in submitting them for ratification, it was a difficult and delicate task to combine "the various sentiments and interests of a continent divided into so many sovereign and independent communities."

Articles of Confederation Adopted.

Power of the Small States

The articles of confederation were designed to give the central government no more power than it needed to carry on national affairs, and they reserved all others to the state. Congress was to conduct foreign affairs, to declare war, to provide for admiralty courts, to regulate the coinage, to establish standards of weight and measure, to have sole jurisdiction over Indian tribes, but not to infringe the rights of any state in this respect, to establish and regulate post offices and post roads, to build and equip a navy, to issue letters of marque and reprisal, to have an army made up of troops furnished by the states at the call of congress, to appoint the higher army officers, to borrow money, and to emit bills of credit. Most of these rights had formerly been exercised by the crown, and they were now

readily granted to the general government. None of them could have been exercised easily by the states individually.

Some powers were expressly reserved to the states; as raising the militia, appointing regimental officers in the army, granting letters of marque in time of war, repelling invasion without waiting for the consent of congress, and keeping an army or navy in time of peace if congress consented. Other important powers were not mentioned, and by implication were reserved to the states; as, to control commerce and navigation, to levy imposts, and to lay direct taxes. Nine states must consent to the most important acts of congress, and an amendment of the articles must be unanimous. Ordinary votes in congress would pass by having the approval of a majority of the states, but an adjournment could be ordered by congress if the majority of the delegates present consented. Congress could not levy or collect a tax on individuals, but must get its revenues by making requisitions on the states apportioned on the value of land in private hands; and the state was to collect the amount required as it saw fit. Thus, the basis of power was the state and not the citizen.

Powers of the States.

Revenues.

The revolution was a protest against the strong executive in England, and care was now taken to give the new government the weakest possible executive. Congress might appoint a president from their own members to have office for only one year in three. He had no veto or appointing power, but received foreign ministers. Congress was to appoint high executive officers to act under its authority. Thus it appointed a secretary for foreign affairs, who reported to congress. A "committee of the states," one delegate from each of the thirteen, was to carry out the directions of congress in a recess of that body.

The Executive.

Another weakness was the absence of a federal judiciary. No such courts were provided. Cases arising under the articles would be referred to the state courts, which would naturally lean toward the states. Admiralty courts, however, should be established by congress with jurisdiction over piracy and over offenses on the high seas, and there was a court of appeals for prize cases. A dispute between states was to be referred to congress, who should appoint seven or nine arbiters, no two from the same state, who were to pass on the dispute and report their verdict to congress; but there was no way of enforcing the decision, if the contending states did not choose to obey it. The articles declared in the beginning that "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," and described the government now created as "a firm league of friendship," but near the end they say, "and the Union shall be perpetual." In view of the narrow power given to the congress, we may conclude that the word "Union" here was understood to be a mere act of association. The historical

No Federal Courts.

significance of the articles of confederation is not to be overlooked. They were a step in the development of the union. Weak as they were for the purposes demanded of them, they were a conscious sacrifice of some of the powers of the hitherto disunited states, and their very impotence pointed out in what respect they ought to be strengthened.

Moving toward a Stronger Union

Opposition to Union Receding.

The weakness of the articles surprised nobody. Even the men who opposed a strong union were not surprised. They had resisted concentration because they feared the power of a strong central government over the states. The four years of turmoil following the victory at Yorktown showed them that there was something worse than a vigorous congress. They saw in the financial chaos the obstruction of trade, and in the tendency of states to fall on one another the probability that even the small amount of union already established would be lost. If such a state of affairs continued, it was likely that each state would look out for itself. In such a condition the large states would fare best, and small states would either fall into the hands of their great neighbors or have to place themselves under the protection of foreign powers. It was, therefore, the interest of small states to give up some of their reserved powers, provided they could effect an arrangement by which they could preserve their integrity as states.

Union Men Active.

Meanwhile, the strong union men did not cease to try to develop public opinion. Chief among them was Washington, who wrote letters to his friends and to legislatures. Hamilton, also, exerted himself, and Madison, who was coming into great influence in Virginia, was another who lost no opportunity to help the cause. After the fashion of the day, many pamphlets appeared on the question, one of the most important being by Pelatiah Webster, suggesting so many features of the constitution later adopted that his admirers have called him the father of the constitution. Congress itself took up the work, and passed several sets of resolutions looking to a stronger government. Few of these advocates desired a unified government: most of them looked to a federal government, with power to collect its revenues and to make itself obeyed. Some men said that all that should be done was to add to the central authority the least possible vigor the situation demanded. All these efforts made ready for the work of 1787.

As the discussion went on, the idea of amending the articles in a convention continually came up. It was plain that the method in the articles themselves was futile; for one state would probably be found to oppose anything suggested. But a convention would not be bound by the existing agreement, it would build the union anew,

and if an agreed number of states accepted its work, the union might go forward without the consent of the others. Besides, to take part in it would commit no state, and if it should be held it would be the interest of each state to be represented, lest the plan prepared should infringe her interests. As the suggestion of such a step was repeated it gained ground in the popular mind. Many of the discouraged friends of central government thought it worth trying, and the friends of the states were willing to attend and discuss the points at issue, although they were quite sure they would not yield one iota of their cause more than was necessary to preserve the fruits of the revolution. In all this congress took little active part. It could hardly be expected to do a thing that would destroy its own life.

Constitutional Convention Suggested.

While opinion thus ripened, events happened which led to the convention. In 1784 Madison learned that much confusion in navigation and some smuggling existed on the Potomac because of different customs regulations on the opposite sides. He undertook to remedy the matter, and got the two states concerned to appoint commissioners to prepare a code of rules. They met in 1785, had no trouble to agree on the matter in hand, but saw that if Maryland changed her regulations, her northern neighbors must do the same, or the same difficulty would exist on the northern border. This would necessitate changes on the northern borders of Pennsylvania and Delaware. In other words, the regulation of navigation was a question common to all of the states, and the commissioners ended by suggesting a general convention for that purpose. Madison, one of the commissioners, was a member of the Virginia legislature, where he worked hard to strengthen the hands of congress. A strong party opposed his efforts, because of their devotion to the sovereignty of the states. Spite of their plans, he got the assembly to call on all the other states to send delegates to a convention to consider commercial regulations. The place was to be Annapolis, remote from New York, where congress then sat, and far away from any large port whose merchants might influence its deliberations. The time of meeting was to be September 11, 1786. This convention, be it remembered, was to be a creature of the states, to report to them, and was not concerned with the continental congress.

Virginia and Maryland Confer.

At the appointed time delegates assembled from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, and New Jersey; and Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and North Carolina named delegates who did not attend. The other states, Georgia, South Carolina, Maryland, and Connecticut, took no notice of the call. More discouraging than these absences was the fact that no real good could be accomplished unless a power existed strong enough to enforce common regula-

The Annapolis Convention.

tions, if they were made. The convention, therefore, gave up the task before it and issued an address to the states urging them to call a constitutional convention to meet in Philadelphia the second Monday in May. Its action was to be binding when approved by congress and confirmed by all the state legislatures.

This was a bold step. Congress was only half pleased, and took no notice of a call coming from a source outside of itself. But Virginia was of another mind. Spite of her recent opposition to amendments, she now indorsed the convention without debate and elected delegates, among them Washington, Madison, Patrick Henry, and Governor Randolph, but Henry refused to serve. Other states followed her lead, and congress unbent enough to call a convention at the same time and place, but without allusion to the work at Annapolis. Rhode Island alone refused to take action, although New Hampshire hesitated until June, and her representatives took no part in the earlier deliberations at Philadelphia. The quick response of the other states was in strong contrast with their opposition to amendments. Though disgusted with congress, they were loyal to the American cause and hoped with a new trial to make a better form of government than they then had. For this purpose they put forward their best men. The American congress had not contained, since the first days of its existence, such men as gathered at Philadelphia; Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, Alexander Hamilton, Rufus King, William Patterson, Oliver Ellsworth, Charles, and Charles Cotesworth, Pinckney, and Luther Martin. Though divided in their opinions, they were among the best leaders of the day, and no superior men could have been found for the task before them.

Delegates to the Philadelphia Convention.

Washington was chosen president of the convention, and the meetings were held in the strictest secrecy. At the close the journal was delivered to him sealed with instructions to hand it over to the congress of the United States, if the constitution now prepared was adopted. In 1818 congress ordered its publication, but it was the merest skeleton of the proceedings. A fuller record was made by Madison, the best versed member in political science, and such an earnest supporter of the practical measures of the convention that he came to be called "the father of the constitution." At the first session he took a seat from which he could hear all that was said and made as full a record of the debates as he could. His "Notes" were first published in 1841, and constitute our best information of what was done. Other members, particularly Yates, of New York, made notes less explicit, and these also have been published.

Meeting of the Convention.

Madison's "Notes."

The opposition between large and small states came up with the meeting of the delegates. Four days after the convention organized

Governor Randolph, of Virginia, offered a tentative plan of union. It favored the large states and provided for a congress of two branches, the lower elected by the people on the basis of population or land values and the upper elected by the lower branch. The significance will be seen if we remember that by the first census, 1790, Virginia had a population of 747,610, Massachusetts, including Maine, had 475,327, Pennsylvania had 434,373, North Carolina had 393,751, and New York had 340,120. The combined population of Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, and New Hampshire was only 453,943. The combined population of the five largest states was 2,391,181, and that of the other eight states was 1,334,238. Georgia, with a population of 82,548, had vast undeveloped areas and usually acted with the large states, so that these six great states had 66.1 per cent. of the entire population, and since the other states had restricted boundaries, the progress of settlement could be expected to increase their advantage. If land values were taken for the basis of representation, the distribution of power would be nearly the same as if population were taken.

The Virginia Plan.

Position of the Large States.

The congress thus delivered over to the large states should have authority to make all the laws the existing confederation could make, as well as to veto a state law in conflict with the constitution, and to coerce a state failing in its duty. There was to be, also, a national executive chosen by congress, but its composition was not defined. There was to be a council of revision, of which the executive was to be a part, with power to veto a law of congress or a congressional veto of a state law; but its veto might be overridden by a subsequent session of congress. There was to be a national judiciary selected by congress with jurisdiction over admiralty cases, issues in which foreigners or citizens of different states were parties, impeachments of national officers, and cases concerning the collection of the national revenues. It was also provided that officers of the states should be required to take oaths to support the constitution of the union, and that the constitution when completed should be submitted to the people of the states for approval through their legislatures or conventions chosen for the purpose. This plan, which was largely the work of Madison, was distinctly popular in its character. It was supported because a popular basis of government favored the large states, and it had the opposition of the small states for the same reason. Pinckney, of South Carolina, submitted a plan, much like Virginia's, but the convention took little notice of it. Alexander Hamilton also had a plan, as strongly central as Virginia's, but he did not submit it to the convention.

Congress under the Virginia Plan.

The debates began in the committee of the whole. The Virginia plan had the solid support of the large states, except New York,

which, under the influence of George Clinton, thought to hold out for special terms. Six of the eleven states represented, — Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, — over-riding the arguments of the small states, carried the main features of that plan through the committee. They were in no mood to compromise. If the small states would not federate on the proposed plan, said Wilson, the most masterful of its defenders, let them know that the large states would federate on no other. And the small states, not prepared for such a spirited assault, could only repeat their assertion that they would not put their heads into the lion's mouth. Their leader was Paterson, of New Jersey, as determined a man as Wilson himself. He thought it better to remain out of the union than to accept the domination of the victors; and one need only look at the map to see that a group of states around New York harbor, from Connecticut to Delaware, could have laid the foundation for a great independent federation if they had thrown in their fortunes in a common cause.

First Successes of the Large States

When the committee reported to the convention, Paterson, therefore, offered the ultimatum of the small states, itself a plan of government. He was willing to strengthen the hands of congress, to allow it to lay and collect import duties, to regulate trade, and to coerce a state which did not pay its requisitions. He would even grant a national judiciary with large powers, but he would not agree to distribute power according to population, and he demanded equal representation of the states in congress. Had the minds of the delegates been free from passion they would have seen that even this was a great improvement over the articles of confederation: it would have remedied most of the abuses under the old system. But the question was now beyond the mere fact of remedying abuses; it was: Should a nation be founded on a popular basis or on a state basis? and around that fundamental point began a discussion whose acrimony made every cautious and patriotic delegate tremble for the issue. After five days the vote was taken. Maryland was divided, and Connecticut, in sympathy with the small states but not willing to defeat union, voted against the ultimatum. Thus the large states again won, the vote being seven to three against Paterson's plan, and the convention took up the report of the committee of the whole.

Paterson's Plan.

June 29, came the first division on the make-up of congress. It was voted to have proportional representation in the lower house, Maryland being divided and New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware voting in the negative. It was a critical moment. If the same combination carried the vote on the composition of the upper house, the small states, if they fulfilled their threats, would abandon the

Fight over the Make-up of Congress.

convention. Wilson was inexorable. "If the minority of the people of America," said he, "refuse to coalesce with the majority on just and proper principles, if a separation must take place, it could never happen on better grounds." To which a Delaware delegate replied: "The large states dare not dissolve the Confederation. If they do, the small ones will find some foreign ally of more honor and good faith, who will take them by the hand and do them justice."

Fortunately, there were some moderate men in the convention who thought a compromise better than disruption. Several times in the debates small-state delegates had suggested that at least the upper house should be based on equal representation of states, and no notice had been taken. But at this critical point the idea recurred to the small-state men, and Ellsworth, of Connecticut, pleaded eloquently for it as a guarantee to the small states that they should not be swamped by the influence of their large neighbors. It seemed a small concession in order to preserve the union of all the states. The appeal reached one man, Baldwin, of Georgia, Connecticut born and a Yale graduate. On the vote being taken, he was for compromise, and divided his delegation, thus leaving the large states with only five votes. At the same time Luther Martin's colleague was absent, and he cast Maryland's vote for the resolution. The vote in convention was, therefore, five to five, and the power of the large states was checked. The pathetic appeal of the small states at the last had reached the hearts of some of their adversaries, and a committee of one from each state was appointed to arrive at a compromise. Franklin was a member, and suggested the report that the lower house be based on representation and have the right to initiate revenue laws, and that the states have equal voice in the upper house. After eleven days of bitter debate, with many futile motions to amend, the report was carried, North Carolina voting for the compromise. Four large states held out, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, while Massachusetts was divided. They took defeat badly, and asked for an adjournment to consider what they should do. Everybody left the hall in the deepest gloom. The event had come which the larger states had said would justify withdrawal: would they carry out the threat? Early next morning they held a meeting to decide upon their course. Some were for withdrawal, but the majority were for remaining. They were not willing to give up the last hope of a united government. Thus the compromise was allowed to stand and constitution-making was resumed.

Ellsworth's Appeal for Compromise.

Baldwin, of Georgia.

Compromise Adopted.

The compromise had vast influence on the future. It broke at a vital point into the scheme of a national government on a popular basis. It divided the lawmaking power between two dissimilar and, in some cases, opposing sources of authority. If the large states,

four of whom were Southern, had won in 1787, slavery would not have found refuge in the senate fifty years later, and the secession movement might have been dealt with before it was strong enough to venture its cause on the field of battle. The equality of the states in the senate nourished the secession movement through three decades of its early growth.

Its Influence in the Future.

This compromise was soon followed by another. Congress was given power to lay direct taxes to be apportioned according to population, and representation was to be based on population. Since the slaves did not vote, some Northern men thought they should not be counted in representation, it being logical to found political power on citizenship. They also thought that slaves should be included in apportioning direct taxes, because they were property, and taxation should rest on the ability to pay. The South opposed each proposition. Williamson of North Carolina suggested that three-fifths of the slaves be counted in representation. There was some sharp debate, showing the deep feeling of the North against the advantage slavery gave the South and the resentment of the South that it should be a basis of discrimination against her. At the end a compromise was adopted, three-fifths of the slaves being counted in apportioning both representation and direct taxes.

Three-fifths of the Slaves Counted.

Still another adjustment of conflicting interests was to be made. The four states south of the Potomac were agricultural, and all the others had strong commercial interests. Since the states were to be equal in the senate, the South, remembering the British navigation acts, feared that the North might combine to make discrimination against the non-commercial section. They, therefore, hesitated when it was proposed to give congress control over commerce. At the same time the regulation of the slave trade came up. Virginia and Maryland had as many slaves as they could profitably employ, and there was no popular demand for more. Their leading men saw the evils of the system and would have been pleased to eliminate it. They joined with the men of the North in a desire to forbid the foreign slave trade at once. This alarmed South Carolina and Georgia, where slaves were more profitable. The people of these two states looked with hope to the settlement of the Gulf region, where rich lands awaited development through slave labor. Georgia and South Carolina, therefore, objected to an immediate checking of their slave supply and a consequent enhancement of slave prices. Here again came a warm debate in which the southernmost states resorted to the usual argument that they would not federate if their interests were overridden. They had the sympathy of North Carolina, and it was evident that a powerful state could be formed if the three, with the vast Gulf section, set up a government of their own. Finally the spirit of compromise

Commerce and the Foreign Slave Trade.

prevailed. Congress was given control of navigation, which satisfied the North, and it was agreed that the foreign slave trade should not be prohibited before 1808.

Other points of difference appeared in the convention, but they concerned the theory of government, and not the interests of the parts of the union. They were usually won by the advocates of a national government. Thus the powers of congress, methods of election, the functions of the executive, the creation of a system of federal courts, the powers denied to the states, the methods of amending the constitution, and other similar points were passed upon after much contention. The sessions lasted until September 17. Of the fifty-five delegates who had attended, only thirty-nine were present and signed: some of the others had gone home in disgust to oppose adoption when the completed instrument should appear before the states. Probably few of its supporters believed it was all it should be, but they held it was better than the old system, and they believed time would show its defects and lead to amendments. These, also, went to their homes resolved to do what they could to secure adoption.

The Constitution Completed.

The Adoption of the Constitution

The country waited anxiously while the convention deliberated behind closed doors: it was in commotion as soon as the constitution was published. As the members returned to their constituencies full of arguments for nationality, the immediate response was enthusiastic. The people were accustomed to follow leaders, and the federalists, as the advocates of nationality, had the advantage of early organization. Newspapers teemed with articles on both sides, speeches were made, and pamphlets appeared. The most notable utterance was a series of papers by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, under the title of "The Federalist," then and to this day an excellent summary of the meaning of the constitution. On the other hand, some of the most prominent men of the day began to denounce ratification. They favored a stronger government than the old confederation, but they thought the suggested plan too national. They slowly rallied their following into a group known as anti-federalists, and by speaking and writing urged that the liberty of individuals would be destroyed if the powers of the states were reduced.

Received by the People.

In the convention the small states were the champions of state rights, but now they were most eager to ratify. They had won their fight in regard to the composition of the senate, and made haste to "come under the roof," as the phrase ran. Delaware ratified first, December 7, 1787, New Jersey on the 18th, and Connecticut on January 9, 1788. The first large state to act was Pennsylvania, where the antifederalists appeared in

Early Ratifications.

strength. They fought so well that a compromise was adopted. The federalists agreed to ten suggested amendments which should be submitted to congress in the hope that they would be referred to the other states for approval; and on that basis the constitution was accepted on December 12. January 2 Georgia ratified unanimously. By this means five states accepted the new government within a month and two days, and the federalists were much encouraged.

Massachusetts Ratifies.

In Massachusetts the antifederalists were strong in the interior towns where distrust of the merchants and capitalists of the seaports, now generally federalists, had been marked since the days of Shays's rebellion. All eyes turned to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who had much influence with the popular party. They were both known to hesitate, but the former was won over by the promise of support for either the presidency or vice-presidency in the new government. The latter could not be so easily convinced. He was devoted to his state and thought her interests were sacrificed. In the convention Hancock was induced to offer a number of proposed amendments supporting the rights of the states. Adams announced that he was satisfied, and on February 7 ratification was carried by the relatively small majority of 19. The Pennsylvania amendments had been in the nature of a bill of rights, and were considered a safeguard of personal liberty: those offered by Massachusetts went farther and sought to lessen nationality and strengthen the states. Without them it is doubtful if the Old Bay State would have accepted the constitution. The antifederalists pronounced them a subterfuge and asked who was so simple as to believe that attention would be paid to amendments once the nationalists got the government established to their liking? and would it not be more sensible to announce that they would not ratify until the amendments were adopted? The federalists replied that if the constitution were now rejected, there was slight hope that the states could be got to consider it again. Their success in urging amendments as a means of overcoming the arguments of the Massachusetts antifederalists induced them to use it in all the states who later raised strong objections. Of the seven states voting after this all but one ratified with amendments. The consent of Massachusetts determined New Hampshire, who at first adjourned her convention to see what her great neighbor would do. April 26 Maryland ratified, and South Carolina on May 23. This made eight states, and by the constitution the new system was to go into effect when nine had ratified. Which would be the one remaining necessary accession? The question was answered when on June 21 New Hampshire accepted the constitution.

Significance of the Amendments.

Other States.

Before the South knew of New Hampshire's action Virginia, after a hard and doubtful battle, had decided for union. Although the

state's delegation voted steadily for nationality in the Philadelphia convention, in no ratifying convention was there a harder fight against nationality. It was led by Patrick Henry, who had refused to go to the convention as a delegate. He opened the attack in the Richmond convention by boldly proposing to call to account the Virginia delegates, Washington included, on the ground that they had been untrue to the state when they made a plan for a national government. He was supported by George Mason, a delegate who refused to sign the constitution, and by R. H. Lee, leader of a group of disappointed men who long opposed the policy of the great planters in eastern Virginia. They attacked the constitution at every possible point. It would make a tyrant of the president, it would enslave the states, it would destroy individual liberty: these and other arguments were marshaled by the impetuous Henry with dramatic force. Madison and John Marshall met his arguments coolly. The proposed plan, they said, left the states with all necessary powers over local affairs and gave the union only what power was needed to direct the affairs common to all the states. At the end of three weeks of excited debate amendments were brought forward, forty in all. Henry laughed at them. They were designed, he said, to lull the fears of the antifederalists, but once adoption was secured they would not be heard from again. Madison replied with a pledge that they should be fairly considered and submitted to the states. The promise was trusted by some members of the convention who were in doubt, and ratification was carried on June 25, 1788, by a majority of ten.

Virginia.

Ten states had now "come under the federal roof," and the battle shifted to New York, where George Clinton led the antifederalists. When the convention met in June a majority of the members were with him. Hamilton, Jay, and Robert R. Livingston led the federalists with great ability. The same arguments used in the other states were bandied back and forth; but when it was known that ten states had ratified, the situation changed. New York was not willing to be left out of the union in company with Rhode Island and North Carolina. Some antifederalists now became discouraged, and when the vote was taken, July 26, the federalists won by three votes. A resolution was passed asking congress to call a new convention to consider a constitution. It won some votes for ratification, but it elicited no response from either congress or the other states. Everywhere men were tired of the discussions of the past year and were willing to test what had been won before they began to revise it.

New York.

Two states now remained out of the new union, North Carolina and Rhode Island. In the former a convention was held, controlled by the antifederalists. It was decided to adjourn without action. The leaders hoped that other states would do the same and be able

to force the union to amend the plan adopted. Rhode Island submitted the constitution to the people, who rejected it by a large majority. After the new government was organized these two states became ashamed that they were without the fold, and accepted the constitution, the former on November 21, 1789, and the latter on May 29, 1790.

North Carolina and Rhode Island.

Nationality and State Integrity in the Constitution

There is a trace of nationality in the articles of confederation, but the constitution has a great deal more. By it the legislature may do the following things: 1. Lay and collect taxes, direct and indirect, "to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States," but taxes must be uniform throughout the union; 2. Regulate foreign and interstate commerce; 3. Pass naturalization laws; 4. Pass uniform bankruptcy laws; 5. Enact copyright and patent laws; 6. Raise and support an army; 7. Call out the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrection, or repel invasion; 8. Have exclusive control over the district, not more than ten miles square, to be selected for the national capital; 9. Buy with the consent of the state in which they lie sites for forts, arsenals, and other public works and buildings, and have exclusive control of the same; 10. Make laws to carry into effect any of the powers granted to it in the constitution; 11. Suspend the writ of *Habeas corpus* when necessary in cases of rebellion or of invasion; 12. Determine the times and places of choosing presidential electors; 13. Judge of the validity of the election of its own members, each house acting for itself; 14. Dispose of and govern the territory and other property of the United States; and 15. Admit new states into the union, but no state to be divided without its own consent. Of the powers granted to congress by the articles of confederation the following were reaffirmed: 1. To establish and control post offices and post roads; 2. To borrow money; 3. To coin money and fix the standards of weights and measures; 4. To define and punish piracies and felonies on the high seas; 5. To create and maintain a navy; 6. To make rules for the regulation of the army; 7. To declare war; and 8. To grant letters of marque.

Powers of Congress.

The composition of congress is as follows: 1. *A house of representatives*, composed of not more than one representative for each 30,000 inhabitants and each member to be chosen every two years; but each state must have at least one representative. In apportioning representation and direct taxes three-fifths of the slaves and all the whites shall be counted. Each representative must be at least

Composition of Congress. 1. The House of Representatives.

twenty-five years old, seven years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of the state from which he is chosen. The house of representatives elects its own officers and has sole right of impeachment. It originates all bills for raising revenue, but the senate may amend them.

2. *The senate*, composed of two members from each state chosen for six years by the state legislatures, each member to have one vote. One-third of the members are chosen every two years. Each senator must be at least thirty years old, nine years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen. The vice-president presides over the senate but has no vote unless there is a tie. The senate tries impeachments, but when the president is impeached the chief justice presides, and a two-thirds vote is necessary for all convictions. It also confirms the appointment of officers nominated by the president and by a two-thirds vote ratifies treaties. It chooses a president *pro tempore* to preside when the vice-president is absent or fills the office of president.

2. The Senate.

Congress shall meet in regular session at least once a year, on the first Monday in December, or on some other day selected by itself. The state legislatures shall direct the time, place, and manner of electing members of each house, but congress may, if it wills, make other regulations for choosing senators and representatives. All persons vote for representatives and presidential electors who vote for members of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. Each house is judge of its own elections, each elects its own officers, each prescribes its own rules of procedure, and each must enter the yeas and nays in its journal when one-fifth of the members present demand it. No member shall be called to account for words spoken in debate or arrested during attendance on the sessions, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Each bill to become a law must be passed by each house and signed by the president of the United States, but if he vetoes it, congress may pass it over his veto by a two-thirds majority. If he keeps it ten days without either veto or approval, it becomes law. If he receives a law within ten days before adjournment and does not act upon it, the bill is not law. Congress may not create a title of nobility, and no federal official shall accept a foreign title or present without the consent of congress.

Elections.

Yeas and Nays.

The Veto.

The executive function is exercised by a president of the United States chosen for four years by electors appointed by the states as they may see fit. Each state is to have as many presidential electors as it has representatives and senators, and each elector has one vote. The selection of electors may be regulated by congress. The president must be a natural-

The President.

born citizen of the United States, at least thirty-five years old, and for fourteen years a resident of the United States, and he shall take an oath faithfully to execute the office and to defend the constitution. His powers are defined as follows: 1. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy; 2. He shall make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the senate; 3. He shall appoint ambassadors, judges, and other officers with the consent of the senate, and, if congress gives him the power, inferior offices of his own accord; 4. He shall call congress in extra session; 5. He shall receive ambassadors and conduct negotiations with foreign states; 6. He shall see that the laws be executed; 7. He shall be liable to impeachment for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors"; 8. He shall have the power to pardon all offenses but cases of impeachment; and 9. He shall send to congress information on the state of the nation.

His Powers.

The constitution also creates a vice-president, to serve when the president is incapacitated for office and to preside over the senate. He is chosen in the same way as the president. Originally the electors were to vote for two men, and the one having the highest vote was to be president and the next to be vice-president. The growth of parties showed weakness in this feature of the system, and the twelfth amendment, 1804, provided that the presidential electors should vote separately for president and vice-president, the majority vote electing to each office. If no candidate for president has a majority, the election goes to the house of representatives, which, voting by states, shall choose from the three highest candidates.

The Vice-President.

The president is given power to call on the heads of the executive departments for written opinions relative to their respective departments. This clause is all the constitution contains in reference to the cabinet. Out of it have grown important functions. It is held that a president may appoint or remove the members of his cabinet; but congress alone may create a new department, whose head thus becomes a member of the cabinet.

The Cabinet.

In creating a strong executive and a congress with large powers of legislation, the constitution added greatly to the nationalism of the government. It went still further when it established a system of federal courts. It provides that the judicial power of the union shall reside in a supreme court and such lower courts as congress may establish. The judges are appointed as other federal officers and hold office during good behavior. Their most important jurisdiction extends to cases arising under the constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States, cases affecting foreign ministers and consuls, admiralty cases, cases in which the United States is a party, and controversies between two or more states, or between a state and citizens of another state, or between citizens

The Federal Courts.

of different states, or between a state or its citizens and a foreign state. The supreme court has original jurisdiction only in cases concerning foreign ministers and consuls and those in which a state is a party. In other cases it has appellate jurisdiction. Treason against the United States consists of "levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort"; and conviction of treason shall only occur on the evidence given in open court of two witnesses to the same overt act, or upon confession in open court.

Treason Defined.

The old congress had as much judicial jurisdiction as the articles of confederation allowed to the central government. The makers of the constitution considered this union of legislative and judicial functions unwise, and they took pains to make the executive, legislative, and judicial organs independent of one another, holding that each would check the evil tendencies of the other. As a result, great power was given to the federal courts. They have become interpreters of the constitution and in that capacity have declared null laws of congress, laws of the states, and even state constitutions, when there has seemed to them to be a conflict with the powers of the general government. Creating the federal courts was one of the most powerful expressions of nationality adopted by the convention of 1787.

Their Jurisdiction.

The constitution provides two methods of amendment: 1. Two-thirds of each house may approve an amendment, and it becomes effective when accepted by three-fourths of the states; 2. The legislatures of two-thirds of the states may call for a constitutional convention, which congress must summon. The product of a constitutional convention becomes law when ratified by three-fourths of the states.

Amendments.

In several general ways the constitution modifies the power of a state: 1. It guarantees to each a republican form of government and to the citizen of one state residing in another all the rights of a citizen of that state; 2. Fugitives from justice and from labor are ordered to be surrendered on the demand of the state from which they fled. 3. No state may emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender, or pass a bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or a law impairing the obligation of a contract; 4. No state may lay imposts or duties on imports or exports without the consent of congress; and 5. The constitution and laws in pursuance thereof are to be the supreme law of the land.

Limitations on the States.

Besides these specific limitations we must consider the immense national authority and prestige, which was bound to reduce the state's pretension to complete sovereignty. But the state felt its inferiority less because it had not exercised many of the powers now relinquished, and because it retained most of the functions vital to

its own interests. It was still a self-governing community, making laws to govern personal and property relations, controlling its own plans for social improvement, regulating the police power over its own citizens, choosing its own government, administering its own laws in its own courts, and doing other things which were not themselves connected with the life of the general government. In all things properly within its own sphere it was conceded to be supreme.

Overweening Prestige of the Nation.

In 1789 the bounds between its authority and that of the nation were not well defined, and if there should be conflict between the two in a matter of interpretation, it seemed probable that the stronger would win. Three features of the national constitution were ominous: 1. Congress had power to lay taxes to provide for the general welfare. If the phrase "general welfare" were given a broad interpretation, it was difficult to say what congress might not do. 2. The constitution and the laws of congress were made supreme law, and the federal courts were given power to declare null state constitutions and laws in conflict with them. If, therefore, a controversy between a state and the nation should come before such a court, it seemed probable that the federal supreme court would support the authority of the latter. 3. Congress was given control over interstate commerce. This was not of great apparent importance at the time, but the development of means of communication would increase interstate commerce, enlarge the activity of the federal government in supervision of it, and produce frequent situations in which a state should be unable to regulate commerce within its borders, on the ground that to do so would interfere with interstate relations.

Probable Sources of Conflict.

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INDEX

"A. B. C. Powers," 870.
Abercrombie, expedition against Canada, 126.
Abolition. *See* antislavery.
Academies, for educational use, 478.
Acadia, settled, 112.
Acadians, removal of, 124.
Adams, the, 328.
Adams, Charles Francis, nominated for vice-president, 452; minister to England, 522; and the Geneva arbitration, 673.
Adams, John, defends soldiers, 172; and the declaration of independence, 187; peace commissioner, 214; first minister to England, 226; opposed to Cincinnati, 229; vice-president, 256; reëlected vice-president, 271; Hamilton's opposition to, 273; elected president, 273; presidency of, 276–290; relation to his party, 276; desires to conciliate republicans, 276; and French quarrel, 278, 282; political views, 283; and Dr. Cooper, 284; reorganizes cabinet, 287; opposed by Hamilton, 273, 276, 282, 287, 288, 289; defeated, 288–290.
Adams, John Quincy, commissioner at Ghent, 334; opposed to Hartford Convention, 336; secretary of state, 367; share in the Monroe Doctrine, 375; candidate for presidency, 376, 377, 378, 379; elected, 379–380; bargain charged, 379, 389; parties forming under, 382–384; message, 382; war on, 383; Panama congress, 383; and the patronage, 389; his support in 1828, 390; supports Jackson in nullification, 409; on West India trade, 416; opposes annexation of Texas, 422; and antislavery petition, 431.
Adams, Samuel, colonial leader, 170; and "Boston Massacre," 172; and committees of correspondence, 174; opposed to Cincinnati, 229; on ratification, 248.
Adamson, W. C., and the control of trusts, 861.
Adjusted compensation, 913.
Africa, western coast explored, 25.
Agrarian bitterness, 934; revolt, 915.
Agriculture, in early Virginia, 50; in the early Carolinas, 83; in colonial period, 140; state of, 1800–1815, 345; progress after civil war, 665.
Agricultural bloc, 914, 915; depression, 931.
Aguinaldo, leads revolts against Spain, 809; Dewey aids, 809; captured, 810.
Airplanes, production of, 883, 884.
Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of, 120.
Alabama, territory created, 345; population, 1820, 345; a state, 373; ratification of her constitution, 624; readmitted, 624; republicans overthrown, 632.
Alabama, the confederate ship, 523.
Alabama Claims, the, under A. Johnson, 670; Sumner's statement of, 671; arbitration of, 672–674.
Alabama-Mobile river system, 3.
Alaska, purchase of, 643; boundary controversy, 825; and Cunningham syndicate, 838; civil government in, 851.
Albany, Congress at, 1690, 116; 1754, 122.
Albermarle, settlements in, 82.
Aldrich, N. W., and tariff of 1883, 715; and Payne-Aldrich bill, 837; report on currency, 850.
Aldrich Commission, report of, 856, 859.
Algiers, at war, 295, 296.
Algonkins, the, 18; and the French, 113.
Alien Laws, passed, 283; Jefferson's way of meeting, 285.
Allen, Ethan, exploits of, 182.
Altgeld, Governor, pardons convicted anarchists, 743; and Pullman strike, 743.
Alverstone, Lord, 825.
Amadas, Philip, discovers Roanoke Island, 42.
Amador, Dr., 819.
Ambrister, Captain, executed by Jackson, 369.
Amelia Island, occupied, 331.
Amendments, suggested by the ratifying states, 248; method of making, 253; ten amendments, 258; eleventh and twelfth, 360; suggested by Hartford convention, 337; thirteenth, 580, 590; fourteenth, 607–609; rejected by South, 608, 619; accepted under congressional reconstruc-

tion, 610; war, interpreted, 635–638; for income tax, 838; for popular election of senators, 851; eighteenth, 904, 934; nineteenth, 905.
America, named, 33.
American Colonization Society, 428.
American Expeditionary Forces, crossing the Atlantic, 886–888; two phases of their campaign in France, 888; actual fighting in France, 888–895; placed at Foch's disposal, 889; corps organized, 891; St. Mihiel Campaign, 892; Meuse-Argonne, 893; in Italy, 895; in Russia, 895; in Siberia, 895.
American Federation of Labor assails strike injunction, 910.
American Tobacco Company, dissolution suit, 840, 842.
Ames, Oakes, 650.
Amherst, Jeffrey, at capture of Louisburg, 125; at capture of Montreal, 128.
Amnesty, proclamation of 1863, 596; Johnson's, 600; act of 1872, 634; act for general, 634.
Anarchists, Chicago, 742.
Anderson, Major, in Fort Sumter, 512, 515; surrenders, 516.
Andover Seminary, founded, 355.
André, John, concerned with Arnold, 202.
Andrew, Rev. J. O., and slavery issue, 471.
Andros, Edmund, governor of New England, 94; strong measures, 95; overthrown, 96; and slavery controversy, 902.
Anglican church, in New England, 148; in Virginia, 151; in Maryland and the Carolinas, 151; in other colonies, 152; the Bishop of London, 152; proposed American bishop, 164; as an establishment, 352; reorganized, 354.
Annapolis Convention, 241.
Antietam, battle of, 555.
Antifederalists oppose ratification, 247–249; on the first amendments, 258; disappearance of, 269.
Antimasonic party, organized, 403; opposed Clinton, 403.
Anti-Saloon League, 904.
Antislavery, early period of movement, 428–431.
Apaches, 685.
Appalachian Mountains, influence of, 1, 2.
Appointments to office, 292, 393.
Arabic, destruction of the, 877.
Arapahoes at war, 684, 686.
Arbitration treaties, rejected by Senate, 833.
Arbuthnot, hanged by Jackson, 369.
Archbald, Judge, 843.
Area of United States, 1.
Argentina, and "A. B. C." Commission, 870.
Argonne Forest, 893.
Argus, the, 328.
Aristocracy, suspected, 218, 228, 229, 230.
Arizona, mining in, 678; a territory, 679, 680; a state, 680, 851.
Arkansas, a state, 463; war in, 541; reconstructed under Lincoln, 597; readmitted, 624; republicans overthrown, 632.
"Armed Neutrality," league of, 206.
Armistice, with Germany, 899.
Armstrong, John, Secretary of War, 326, 330.
Army, a British, in the colonies, 164; pay in arrears, 223; plot of officers, 224; seize Philadelphia, 224; half-pay to officers, 229; Cincinnati, 229; in whisky insurrection, 268, 269; to serve against France, 279, 281; condition of in 1812, 320, 326; value of militia, 330; after war of 1812, 363; in civil war, 517, 572–574; organization in 1898, 795; and the captured Spaniards, 802; disease at Santiago, 803; wounded recover, 803; state of, 1914, 878; the Hay Bill, 878, 882; supplies for, 883; aviation, 883, 884; emergency officers, 883; rifles for, 883; and machine guns, 884; transported to France, 886–888; Pershing in command, 887; training in France, 887; size of a division, 888; in actual combat in France, 888–895; forces organized into corps and army, 891, 892.
Army, confederate, raising, 572, 590; bounties, 573, 590; negro troops, 573; numbers, 590.
Army, union, organizing, 572; "bounty jumping," 573; negro troops in, 573; numbers, 590.
Arnold, Benedict, in Canada, 184, 194; against St. Leger, 196; his treason, 201; in Virginia, 211; in Connecticut, 212.
"Aroostook War," the, 437.
Arthur, Chester A., nominated for vice-presidency, 702; removed from collectorship, 702, 708; becomes president, 705; and civil service reform, 709; and nomination in 1884, 716.
Articles of Confederation, committee to prepare, 187; adopted 1781, 217, 238; analysis of, 238–240; weakness of, 222; attempts to amend, 225, 240.
Asbury, Francis, 353.
Ashburton, Lord, in Washington, 438.
Assembly, the colonial development of, 100; in New York, 103.
"Assiento," 120.
"Association," the, 179.

Association of Nations, 906.
Asylum, the Right of, in Chile, 770.
Atchison, and the Kansas-Nebraska act, 486.
Atlanta, captured, 537.
Austria, surrender of, 898.
Autocracy in Germany overthrown, 899.

Bacon, Nathaniel, opposes Governor Berkeley, 90; his death, 91.
Bacon's Rebellion, 90.
Bad Axe, battle of, 466.
Baker, Colonel, at Ball's Bluff, 545.
Balboa, discovers the Pacific, 37.
Baldwin, decisive vote in Constitutional Convention, 245.
Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, 838.
Ballot Reform, 711–712.
Ball's Bluff, battle of, 545.
Balmeceda, 768, 769.
Baltimore, attacked by British, 330.
Baltimore, the, sailors of, attacked, 771; at Manila, 791.
Baltimore, Lord. *See* Calvert.
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, early history, 464; development of, 733, 734.
Bank of North America, 228.
Bank of the United States, first, created, 260; and the currency, 348; McCulloch *v.* Maryland, 359; second, chartered, 363; service of, 364; Jackson's "war" on, 411–415; charter vetoed, 412; deposits removed, 413; protest charges, 418; lingering hope of recharter, 432; attempted recharter under Tyler, 435.
Banks, combinations of, 740.
Banks, Deposit, 423.
Banks, General, attacked by Jackson, 547; at Cedar Mountain, 551.
Banks, National, created, 575.
Banks, National System, insufficiency of, 858. *See* Federal Reserve Bank.
Baptists, in the Colonies, 148, 151; early history, 353; Primitive and Missionary, 353; divided by slavery, 456, 472.
Barbary States. *See* Tripoli.
Barlowe, Arthur, discovers Roanoke Island, 42.
Barnburners, 451; at convention of 1848, 452; secede, 452.
Barrè, Col. Isaac, 166.
Barron, Captain, 314.
Baton Rouge, acquired, 331.
Baum, defeated at Bennington, 195.
Bayard, J. A., commissioner at Ghent, 334.
Bayard, T. F., secretary of state, 719; and Samoa, 765.
Bayonne Decree, 316.
Beaumarchais, 198.
Beauregard, General, at Bull Run, 519; against Butler, 564.
Behaim, Martin, 26.
Belknap, Secretary, and Indian frauds, 652.
Bell, John, nominated by whigs, 508; vote of, 509.
Belligerency, recognition of, 522.
Bellomont, Governor, and salary controversy, 101.
Bennington, battle of, 195.
Benton, Thomas H., and censure resolutions, 415; specie currency favored, 423.
Berkeley, Admiral, 314.
Berkeley, Sir William, governor of Virginia, 51; his policy in Virginia, 89; opposed by Bacon, 90; return to England, 91; and the Anglican Church, 151.
Berlin Decree, 308.
Bernard, Governor, of Massachusetts, 171.
Bernstorff, Ambassador, 877; receives passports, 881.
Biddle, Nicholas, asks for new charter, 411; Jackson and, 411; carries charter in congress, 412; continues to hope, 413; and the panic, 414.
Bienville, 115.
Bifurcated Invasion of the South, 526.
Big Black river, battle of, 531.
Big Four, the, 901.
Big Horn, Little, battle of, 688.
Bigot, hampers Montcalm, 127; punished, 127.
"Bird Woman," guides Lewis and Clark, 356.
Birney, J. G., in Ohio, 429; candidate for presidency, 1844, 443.
Black Code, revised, 430; *ante bellum*, 602; *post bellum*, 602; effects of, 602.
"Black Friday," 647.
Black Hawk, war of, 466.
Black Hills, gold found in, 679; Indians driven out, 687.
Bladensburg, battle of, 329.
Blaine, J. G., raises Southern issue, 653; secretary of state, 703, 723; nominated 1884, 716; the "Mulligan Letters," 717; and reciprocity, 725; and nomination of 1892, 749; and fur seal controversy, 767; and Mafia incident, 768; and Isthmian Canal, 818.
Blair, F. P., in "Kitchen Cabinet," 393; founds the *Globe*, 402.
Blair, F. P., Jr., in Missouri, 517; nominated for vice-presidency, 642.
Blair, Rev. James, commissary, 152; founder of William and Mary College, 154.

Blanco, General, command in Cuba, 787; and Cervera, 799.
Bland, R. P., champion of Silver, 699; candidate for nomination, 1896, 760.
Bland-Allison law, 699.
"Blanket Injunctions," 744.
Bliss, General Tasker H., delegate to Peace Conference, 900.
Block, Adrian, explorations of, 72.
Blockade, established, 517; keeping the, 569; running the, 592; in world war, 875.
"Blocks of five," 722.
Blount, J. H., in Hawaii, 773.
Blue, Victor, back of Santiago, 795.
Bœuf, Fort de, 122.
Bonds, in civil war, 574, 576.
Bon Homme Richard, 205.
Bonus Bill, for internal improvements, 365.
Boone, Daniel, 233.
Border States, saved for the union, 517.
Boscawen, failure on the St. Lawrence, 121.
Boston, settled, 64; population, 142; culture of, 155; troops sent to, 171; "Boston Massacre," 172; "Tea Party," 176; port closed, 176; blockaded, 177; siege of, 180–182; evacuated, 182.
Boundaries, 1783, 215.
Boutwell, G. S., secretary of the treasury, 644; financial policy, 662.
Bowdoin, Governor, and Shays's Rebellion, 236.
Boxer Revolt, 823.
Braddock, effect of his defeat, 106; expedition of, 123.
Bradford, William, elected governor, 61.
Bradley, J. P., his appointment as judge, 664.
Bragg, General, in Kentucky, 529; at Perryville, 529; at Stone's river, 530; at Chickamauga, 533; at Chattanooga, 535; removed from command, 535.
Brandywine, battle of, 19.
Brant, Joesph, 203.
Bray, Rev. Thomas, 152.
Brazil, coast discovered, 32; skirted by Cabral, 34; and "A. B. C." Commission, 870.
Breckenridge, J. C., nominated for presidency, 506; his vote, 509.
Brewster, William, at Scrooby, 59; goes to America, 60.
Briand's proposal, 930.
Brock, General, against Hull, 322.
Broke, Captain, 327.
Brooklyn, battle of, 189.
Brooklyn, the, 800, 801.
Brown, B. Gratz, governor of Missouri, 64; nominated for vice-presidency, 648.
Brown, General Jacob, 324; at Chippewa, 325; at Lundy's Lane, 325.
Brown, John, retaliates on his opponents, 491; his raid, 502–504; his object, 502; his death, 503; significance of, 503.
Brown, Moses, and Cotton Mills, 349.
Brown University, founded, 154.
Brough, governor of Ohio, 583.
Brougham, Henry, 320.
Bryan, W. J., speech in Chicago convention, 759; nominated, 760; his campaign, 761; defeated, 762; not crushed, 762; candidate in 1900, 827; and the convention of 1904, 832; nominated in 1908, 835; influence in democratic nomination, 845, 846–847; secretary of state, 854.
Bryant, William Cullen, and the Barnburners, 451; an independent, 694; civil service reformer, 707.
Buchanan, James, and nomination of 1852, 485; nominated in 1856, 495; elected, 496; attitude in crisis, 512.
Buckner, General, at Fort Donelson, 527.
Budget Bureau, 911.
Buell, General, coöperates with Grant, 528; against Bragg, 529; removed from command, 530.
Buena Vista, battle of, 447.
Buffalo, city of, 341.
Buford, Colonel, at Waxhaw, 207.
Buford's cavalry, at Gettysburg, 560.
Bulgaria, forced to yield, 898.
Bull, papal, dividing the new world, 29.
"Bull Moose" party 845; organized, 847.
Bull Run, campaign of, 518–520; second battle of, 550–553; Lee's plan of attack, 551; its execution, 551–553.
Bunau-Varilla, 818.
Bunker Hill, battle of, 181.
Burchard, Rev. S. D., incautious utterance, 719.
Bureau of Prohibition created, 935.
Burgoyne, General, expedition against New York, 193–198; and Carleton, 195.
Burke Act, concerning Indians, 690.
Burleson, Albert S., postmaster-general, 854.
Burlingame, Treaty, the, 774.
Burnside, General, in East Tennessee, 533; in command in Virginia, 555; the Fredericksburg campaign, 555–557; in North Carolina, 570; military arrests, 583.
Burr, Aaron, elected vice-president, 288, 289, 290; plots with Pickering, 300; kills Hamilton, 301; scheme of, 303–306; trial of, 305.
Burr, G. L., and Venezuelan boundary, 780.
Bute, Lord, colonial policy of, 161.

Butler, B. F., on the James, 564; "Contrabands," 577; charged with cotton sales, 592; prosecutes Johnson, 615; succeeds Stevens, 633; relations with Grant, 633, 645; and the Sanborn contracts, 651; Greenback candidate, 698; and civil service reform, 708.
Butler, Colonel John, 203.
Byrd, Col. William, culture of, 155.

Cabinet, constitutional basis of, 252; Wilson's, 854.
Cabot, George, at Hartford convention, 337.
Cabot, John, explorations of, 35.
Cabot, Sebastian, fame of, 35.
Cabral, voyage to Brazil, 34.
Calaveras skull, the, 11.
Calhoun, J. C., elected to congress, 318; and the second bank, 364; on the tariff, 364; on internal improvements, 365; secretary of war, 367, 369; candidate for presidency, 377, 378; elected vice-president, 377; position in Jackson's party, 382; opposition of Van Buren, 382; supports nullification, 387; reëlected vice-president, 390; influence in the cabinet, 392; affected Eaton affair, 394; struck through internal improvements, 394; report on public improvements, 395; and state rights, 396; and Jackson's "union" toast, 399; breach with Jackson, 401–402; three papers on nullification, 407; becomes Southern champion, 422; secretary of state, 439; Texas annexation, 439, 444; and Van Buren's letter, 442; on slavery in Oregon, 453; compromise speech, 1850, 455; death of, 488.
California, purchase desired by Polk, 446; occupied by American forces, 448; not made a territory, 452, 453; admitted to Union, 455, 457; gold discovered, 480; settlement of, 481; government of, 481; and Chinese, 774; and Japanese, 776.
Calvert, Cecilius, his policy, 53, 57; checks the Jesuits, 55; his proprietary rights, 57.
Calvert, George, Maryland granted to, 52.
Calvert, Leonard, governor of Maryland, 53, 54–56.
Cambrai, German drive at, 888.
Cambridge Agreement, 63.
Camden, battle of, 207; burned, 211.
Campos, in Cuba, 784, 786.
Canada, ceded to England, 129; the cession criticized, 130, 161, 170; and Quebec Act, 177; invaded by Americans, 183, 194; capture expected, 321; struggle for, 321–326; line of defense, 321; reciprocity with, 841, 842. *See* New France.
Canals, where located, 3; the Erie, 4; use of, 464. *See* Internal improvements.
Canning, George, and the Orders in Council, 308; his irritating attitude, 313; on *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, 315; and the Monroe Doctrine, 375.
Cannon, Speaker, power reduced, 838.
Cantigny, battle of, 889.
Caperton, Admiral W. B., 896.
Capital, the national, located on the Potomac, 260.
Capital, financial, growth after civil war, 665.
Capper-Volstead Act, 914.
Caribbean Policy, 863–867.
Carleton, General, and the Indians, 685.
Carleton, Sir Guy, against Arnold, 184, 194, 195; retained in Canada, 195.
Carlisle, J. G., secretary of the treasury, 753; maintaining parity, 754; bonds for gold, 754.
Carolina, created, 81, 82; early history, 82–83; fundamental constitutions, 82; two divisions, 82; misrule of proprietors, 106; sale to crown, 107.
Caroline, Fort, 111.
Carpet-baggers, 621.
Carranza, Venustiano, opposes Huerta, 868; becomes president of Mexico, 870.
Carrizal, fight at, 871.
Carthage, battle of, 541.
Cartier, Jacques, explorations of, 36, 112.
Carver, John, governor of Plymouth, 61.
Cass, Lewis, nominated for presidency, 452; defeated, 452; in 1852, 485; leaves cabinet, 512.
Catherine of Aragon, and Columbus, 28, 31.
Caucus, nominating, origin, 288; destroyed, 378.
Cedar Creek, battle of, 565.
Cedar Mountain, battle of, 551.
Central American peace league, 866.
Cerro Gordo, battle of, 449.
Cervera, departs from Cape Verde Islands, 790; reaches Santiago, 793; search for, 793; in Santiago, 799; destruction of his fleet, 800–801.
Chamberlain, D. H., in South Carolina politics, 655, 657, 694.
Chambersburg, burned by Early, 565.
Champion Hill, battle of, 531.
Champlain, founds Quebec, 112; attacks the Iroquois, 112.
Champlain, Lake, battle of, 325.
Chancellorsville, battle of, 557–559.
Channing, Rev. William E., founds American Unitarianism, 355.
Chantilly, battle of, 553.
Chapultepec, taken, 450.

"Charlefort," 111.
Charles I, and the colonies, 77.
Charles II, and the colonies, 80.
Charleston, settled, 83; and tea duty, 175; attacked by the British, 183; taken by the British, 207; British driven into, 211; evacuated, 214; democratic convention at, 505; evacuated by Hardee, 540; naval operations against, 570.
Chase, Samuel, at trial of Dr. Cooper, 284; impeachment of, 294.
Chase, S. P., and opponents of Lincoln, 582, 584; presides over impeachment, 615–617; and democratic nomination, 642; and legal tender cases, 664.
Château-Thierry, fighting around, 889, 890, 891.
Chattahoochee, Sherman crosses, 537.
Chattanooga, campaign for, 532–535; battle of, 535.
Cherokees, 18; relations with the English, 121; war against the Americans, 130; at war, 1776, 203; and Spain, 265; punished by Tennesseeans, 265; removal of, 400, 466; in the West, 466.
Cherry Valley, raided, 203.
Chesapeake, the, defeated by the *Shannon*, 327.
Chesapeake Bay, campaign in, 329–330.
Chesapeake-Leopard, incident, 314; settled by the *President*, 318.
Cheves, Langdon, elected to Congress, 318.
Chew house, the, 194.
Cheyennes, war with southern, 684, 686; war with northern, 685, 687, 688.
Chicago, desires transcontinental railroad, 681; a railroad center, 733, 734; strike of 1886, 742.
Chickamauga, battle of, 533; Park, 795.
Chickasaws, removal of, 400, 466.
Chile, revolution against Balmeceda, 768; Eagan's sympathy, 769; the *Itata*, 769; right of asylum, 770; the *Baltimore*, sailors of, attacked, 770; and "A. B. C." Commission, 870.
China, American relations with, 822; Boxer revolt, 823; legations surrounded, 823; army of relief, 823; "open door" in, 920, 921.
Chinese Immigration, 774.
Chippewa, battle of, 325.
Chivington's Massacre, 684.
Choctaws, removal of, 400, 466.
Choiseul, criticism of England's policy, 130.
Churubusco, 449.
Cibola, 39.
Cienfuegos, Schley at, 793, 794.
Cincinnati, society of, 229; city founded, 342.
Citizenship, National, defined by the courts, 635–638.
Civil Rights Bill, of 1866, 606; of 1875, 634; interpreted by courts, 637.
Civil Service Reform, Grant and, 646; origin of reform, 707; Summer and, 707; Jenckes and, 707; first commission, 708; Pendleton act, 709; execution of, 709–711; under Cleveland, 709, 720.
Claiborne, William, claims Kent Island, 55.
Clark, Champ, candidate for nomination, 845.
Clark, George Rogers, 203.
Clark, William, explorations of, 356.
Clay, Henry, elected to Congress, 318; commissioner at Ghent, 334; on tariff, 364; on internal improvements, 365; heads opposition, 367; on South America, 367; attacks Jackson, 370; on the Missouri compromise, 374; candidate for presidency, 1824, 377, 378, 379; makes Adams president, 379; bargain charged, 382; united with Adams, 382; and Panama congress, 383; and the tariff, 385; nominated, 1832, 404; defeated, 405; his compromise tariff, 410; for the bank, 412, 414, 415; censure of Jackson, 414; on surplus, 424; loses nomination, 434; opposed to Tyler, 435; on Texan annexation, 442; and compromise of 1850, 454–457; death of, 488.
Clayton, H. D., and the control of trusts, 861.
Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 862.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, made, 458; and a canal, 815; annulled, 817.
Cleveland, Grover, and the civil service, 709, 711, 720; governor of New York, 716; nominated for presidency, 716; elected, 719; as president, 719; cabinet, 719; and opponents, 720; and tariff reform, 721; renominated, 722; on pensions, 726; reëlected, 728; on Wilson-Gorman bill, 729; on silver, 1892, 750; opposition of West and South, 751; nominated, 1892, 751; elected, 752; second cabinet, 753; and the Sherman silver law, 755; protecting the reserve, 755–757; repudiated by his party, 758; Hawaiian policy, 773; and Venezuelan dispute, 778–781; and Cuba, 785, 786.
"Cliff Dwellers," the, 12.
Climate, variations of, 1.
Clinton, De Witt, and election of 1812, 319; and Erie canal, 366.
Clinton, General, demonstration against

Albany, 197; relieves Howe, 200; in the South, 207; aids Cornwallis, 212.
Clinton, George, on ratification, 249; a republican, 270; and vice-presidency, 271; in the election of 1800, 288; Jefferson favors, 300, 301; elected vice-president, 302; death of, 319.
Coal, deposits of, 8–10; anthracite, 9; distribution, 9.
Coal lands, conservation of, 850.
Coal strike, anthracite, 830; of 1922, 916.
Cobb, Howell, 499.
Cochrane, Admiral, 330.
Cod fisheries, 5.
Colbert and New France, 115.
Cold Harbor, battle of, 563.
Colfax, Schuyler, vice-president, 642; and the Credit Mobilier, 650.
Coligny, plants colony in Florida, 111.
Colleges, progress of, 478–479; relation to churches, 478, 479.
Colombia, and an isthmian canal, 814; treaty with, 814; Hay-Herran convention, 818; and Panama revolution, 819.
Colon, the, 800, 801.
Colonial government, struggle for assembly, in New York, 103; colonial treasurer, 104; the New England town, 134, 156; the Southern County, 135, 155; local, 155–158; mixed form of, 156.
Colonial policy, 813–814.
Colonial system, characteristics of, 99–101.
Colonies, British supervision, depends on king, 76; Land's commission, 77; Warwick's commission, 77; Lords of trade, 77; effects of Puritan Revolution, 77; Navigation Laws, 78.
Colorado, explorations of, 39.
Colorado, settled, 677; state and territory, 678, 680.
Columbia, S. C., burned, 540.
Columbia University, founded, 154.
Columbus, Christopher, early life, 27; and Toscanelli, 27; seeking aid, 28; sets sail, 28; land discovered, 29; discoveries, 29, 30, 31; honored in Spain, 29, 31; death of, 31.
Columbus, N. M., raided by Villa, 870.
Comanches, 685.
Combinations, industrial, 731–744; principles of, 731; early, 731; advantages claimed for, 732; in railroads, 732–735; in manufactures, 736–740; in banking, 740–741; in labor, 740–744.
Commerce. *See* trade.
Commerce Court, 839, 843.
Committees of Congress, 258.
Committees of correspondence appointed, 174.
"Common Sense," Paine's, 186.
Compact theory, in 1798, 285.
Compensation, adjusted, 913.
Competition, conditions of, 731.
Compromise of 1850, desire for harmony, 454; Clay's proposals, 455; debated, 455–457; adopted, 457; finality of, 485.
Concord, battle of, 180.
Confederacy, the, arming for war, 517; problems, 586; constitution, 587; its president, 587; peace movement in, 588; foreign affairs, 588; and France, 589; navy of, 589; finances of, 590; manufactures in, 591; railroads in, 591; cotton, 591.
"Confederate States of America," organized, 511.
Confiscation acts, first, 576; second, 576, 578.
Congregationalists, 354.
Congress, flees from Philadelphia, 225; composition of, 250.
Congress, the, 328.
Congress, authority of, 359; approves Lincoln, 519; supports war, 519; majorities in 1913, 853; committees, 853. *See* Continental Congress.
Conkling, Roscoe, and renomination of Grant, 652, 702; quarrel with Blaine, 694, 703; and Garfield, 703; resigns senatorship, 704; on civil service reform, 708.
Connecticut, river towns founded, 69; Lord Saye and Sele, 69; Saybrook settled, 69; New Haven settled, 69; New Haven and Connecticut merged, 69; government of New Haven, 69; Pequot War, 70; and New England Confederation, 71; New charter, 80; and the Dominion of New England, 94; resists stamp act, 168; ratifies the constitution, 247; population, 341; constitutional revision in, 473.
Conservation, 849.
Consolidation, national, checked by courts, 636.
Constellation, the, 279, 328; defeats *l'Insurgente*, 281.
Constitution, federal, prepared, 242–247; adopted, 247–250; analysis of, 250–254; interpretation of, 285–287; interpreted by Marshall, 357; and dependencies, 813.
Constitution, the, constructed, 279; takes the *Guerrière*, 327; takes the *Java*, 327.
Constitutions, state, reform of, 472–476.
Continental Congress, called, 178; two sides in, 178; significance of, 179; second congress, 181; authority of, 217; inefficiency, 217; end of, 256.

Continuous voyage, right of, in world war, 875.
"Contrabands," 577; in world war, 875.
Contreras, taken by Scott, 449.
Contributions, political, from corporations, 834; law on, 839, 851.
Convention, constitutional, advantage of, 241; suggested, 241; elected, 242; meets, 242; proceedings, 242–247.
Convention, nominating, origin of, 404.
Convoy service, 897.
Cooley, T. M., on execution of the interstate commerce act, 735.
Coolidge, Calvin, nominated for vice-presidency, 903, 905; elected, 1904; attitude towards League of Nations, 919; succeeds Harding, 922; reëlected, 925; continues old policies, 926; the Debt Settlements under, 927; vetoes McNary-Haugen Bill, 933; declines renomination, 936.
Cooper, Peter, nominated by Greenback party, 697.
Cooper, Dr. Thomas, trial of, 284.
Copperheads, 582.
Corinth, Johnston at, 528; taken by Halleck, 529.
Corn, Indian, significance of, 8; a staple, 8.
Cornbury, Lord, governor of New York, 103.
Cornwallis, Lord, in New Jersey, 191; in command in the South, 207; at Camden, 207; at Charlotte, 208; pursues Greene, 209; in North Carolina, 209; at battle of Guilford Courthouse, 210; in Wilmington, 210; enters Virginia, 211; surrenders, 313.
Corporation tax, 838.
Corte-Real, Gaspar, 34.
Cortez, Hernando, in Mexico, 37.
Cosa, Juan de la, 38.
Costa Rica and Central American peace league, 866.
Cotton, a staple crop, 8; gin invented, 345; and slavery, 346; area of, 346; production and price, 346.
Cotton, Rev. John, against Roger Williams, 66; against Mrs. Hutchinson, 67; against Quakers, 67.
Council of National Defense, work of, 885.
Council of Ten, 901.
County, the, planted, 135; government, 155; in New York, 156.
Courts, federal, the system, 252; established, 257; jurisdiction defined, 357–360.
Covenant of the League of Nations, 901–903.
"Covington Bill," 861.
Cowpens, battle of, 208.
Cox, J. D., secretary of interior, 644; resignation of, 645.
Cox, James M., nominated for presidency, 903.
"Crater, the," at Petersburg, 564.
Crawford, W. H., and the presidency, 1816, 367; in the cabinet, 367; candidate in 1824, 377, 378, 379, 380; support goes to Jackson, 382.
Crazy Horse, in Sioux War, 687, 688.
Credit Banks, intermediate, 915.
Credit Mobilier, the, 649.
Creeks, the, 18; and the English, 121; relations with the United States, 265; Creeks subdued by Jackson, 332; at treaty of Fort Jackson, 332; relation with Seminoles, 368; removal of, 400, 407, 466.
"Crime against Kansas, The," Sumner's speech, 490.
"Crisis, The," Turnbull's, 387.
Crittenden, Senator, efforts to avoid war, 513.
Crittenden Compromise, 512.
Cromwell, Oliver, and the colonies, 77, 80.
Crook, General, against the Sioux, 687–689; and Dull Knife's band, 689.
Crops, staple, 8.
Crown Point, taken by the British, 127; taken by Ethan Allen, 182.
Crozat, has monopoly in Louisiana, 115.
Cuba, discovered, 29; settled, 31; two parties in, 782; ten years' war, 782; reforms promised, 784–785; revolt of 1895, 785; methods of the Cubans, 785; American intervention, 786–790; reforms offered by Sagasta, 787; and Spanish war debt, 805; condition since the war, 806–807; Platt amendment, 807; reoccupation, 807; our relations with, 864.
Culpeper, Pope at, 550.
Culpeper, Lord, governor of Virginia, 92.
Cumberland road bill, vetoed by Monroe, 395.
Currency, early, 348; in the civil war, 575; "elasticity" of, 857. *See* Finance.
Curtis, B. R., opinion in Dred Scott case, 498; defends Johnson, 615.
Curtis, G. W., and civil service reform, 646, 707, 708; as an independent, 693, 718.
Custer, General, and the Indians, 686; death of, 688.
Cutler, Manasseh, and Ohio Company, 232.

Daiquiri, landing at, 796.
Dakota, early history, 679; a territory, 679; a state, 680, 748; gold in, 679, 687; Sioux at war, 685, 687–689.
Dale, Captain, in Tripolitan war, 295.
Dale, Sir Thomas, in Virginia, 49.
Dallas, George M., vice-president, 441.

Daniels, Josephus, secretary of the navy, 854.
Danish West Indies. *See* Virgin Islands.
Dartiguenave, President, of Haiti, 865.
Dartmouth College, founded, 154.
Dartmouth College *v.* Woodward, 359.
Daugherty, Attorney-General, misconduct of, 924; dismissed, 925.
Davenport, Rev. John, 69.
Davie, William R., partisan leader, 207.
Davis, J. C. Bancroft, 673.
Davis, Jefferson, at Buena Vista, 448; secretary of war, 486; Southern leader, 488; resolutions in the senate, 505; president of the confederacy, 511; friendship for Bragg, 535; leaves Richmond, 567; proposes to continue resistance, 568; as confederate president, 587; imprisoned, 641; death, 641.
Dawes, Charles G., director of budget, 908.
Dawes Act, concerning Indians, 690.
Dawes plan, 927.
Deane, Silas, in Paris, 198.
Dearborn, in Jefferson's Cabinet, 292; in war of 1812, 323.
Debt, Revolutionary. *See* Finances.
Debt Settlement, under Coolidge, 927.
Debts, British, in treaty of 1783, 216; not paid, 227, 261.
Decatur, 327; burns the *Philadelphia*, 296; in the Mediterranean, 296.
Declaration of London of 1909 in world war, 874.
Declaratory Act, 168.
Deerfield, attacked, 118.
Defense, national, state of, 878; Council of National, 885.
Delaware, settled by Sweden, 75; conquered by Stuyvesant, 75; acquired by Penn, 86; boundary controversy, 87, 88; government, 87; relation to Pennsylvania, 104; ratifies constitution, 247.
De Lesseps, Ferdinand, in the United States, 816.
De Lima *v.* Bidwell, 814.
De Lome, letter published, 787.
Democracy, development of, 1815–1861, 472–476; thought to be at stake in world war, 878.
Democratic party, in the civil war, 581; in elections of 1862, 582; copperheads, 582, 583; in the South after the war, 621; condition of, after the war, 640; in 1868, 642; in 1872, 648; in 1876, 652–657; gain house of representatives, 651; investigating election of 1876, 695; efforts to repeal election laws, 696, 697; in elections of 1878, 697; its progress before 1884, 719; split in, 653, 702, 716, 720; Western and Southern wings, in 1892, 751; convention of 1896, 758–760; carries house in 1910, 840.
De Monts, plants colony, 112.
Denby, Secretary, resignation of, 925.
Denmark, sells Virgin Islands, 866.
Departments of state created, 257; of the navy, created, 281.
Dependencies, government of, 813, 814.
Depew, C. M., 834.
Dernburg, Bernhard, 783.
Destroyers, the United States, at Queenstown, 896.
Detroit, held against Pontiac, 131; in the revolution, 204; position of, 321; Hull at, 322; recovered, 323.
Deux-Ponts, Colonel, 213.
Dewey, George, ordered to Manila, 791; Battle of Manila Bay, 791; a rear admiral, 791; on Schley-Sampson controversy, 804.
Dexter, and Hartford Convention, 336.
Diaz, Bartholomew, 26.
Diaz, Porfirio, his treatment of foreigners in Mexico, 867; overthrow of, 868.
d'Iberville, settle Louisiana, 115.
Dickinson, John, "Farmer's Letters," 170; and the articles of confederation, 238.
Diedrich, Admiral von, at Manila, 792.
Dingley Tariff Act, 729.
Diplomacy, a new school of, 762.
Diplomatic History of the United States, beginning of, 119; treaty of Paris, 129.
Discourse on Western Planting, 44.
Discovery of America, by the Norse, 23; by Zeno brothers, 23; bearing of oriental trade on, 24; relation to spread of knowledge, 25, 26.
District of Columbia, located, 260; slave-trade abolished, 455, 457.
Division, size of a, 888; naming the, 888.
Doheny, E. L., and the Oil Scandals, 923.
Donelson, Fort, captured, 527.
Dongan, Governor, and the Iroquois, 114.
Dorchester, speech to Indians, 263.
Dorr, Thomas W., struggle for constitutional reform, 474; takes up arms, 475.
Douglas, Stephen A., at nominating convention of 1852, 485; and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 487; opposes Lecompton Constitution, 492, 493; in debate with Lincoln, 499–503; destroyed by Lincoln, 501; Freeport doctrine, 501; opposition of South to, 505; at Charleston convention, 505; nominated for presidency, 506; supports the war, 516.
Dow, Neal, 480.

Downes *v.* Bidwell, 814.
Draft, in use, 572; riots, 572.
Drainage systems, 2.
Drake, Sir Francis, 41; at Roanoke Island, 42.
Dred Scott Decision, 497–499; its futility, 499; in Charleston convention, 505.
Drift man, 12.
Drummond, William, execution of, 91.
Drury's Bluff, battle of, 564.
Duane, W. J., secretary of the treasury, 413.
Dudley, and vote purchasing, 722.
Dudley, Joseph, governor of Massachusetts, 95, 102; sentences Leisler, 103.
"Duke's Laws," the, in New York, 83, 157.
Dull Knife's Band, fate of, 689.
"Dunmore's War," 203.
Duquesne, Fort, taken by Forbes, 125; called Fort Pitt, 126.
Dutch, stock in middle colonies, 145.
Duxbury, 62.
Dwight, Theodore, in Hartford convention, 337.
Dyer, Mrs., execution of, 68.

Eagan, in Chile, 769, 771.
Early, General, in Pennsylvania, 559; at Gettysburg, 559; his raid toward Washington, 565; at Cedar Creek, 565.
East India Company, and tea, 175.
Eastward Ho, 44.
Eaton, Dorman B., and civil service reform, 708, 709.
Eaton, John H., in Jackson's cabinet, 392; affairs of his wife, 394; resigns from the cabinet, 402.
Eaton, Mrs. Jackson and, 394, 401.
Eaton, Theophilus, 69.
Eaton, William, 295.
Edmunds, Senator, reform candidate in 1880, 702; and in 1884, 716, 718.
Education, in the colonies, 153–155; colleges, 153–154; the churches and, 154; the college curriculum, 155; middle schools, 155; colonial culture, 155; progress of, until 1861, 476–480; public school system, developed, 476–478; the academy, 478; colleges, 478–480.
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, 150, 354.
Eighty-Ninth Division, at St. Mihiel, 892.
Eighty-Second Division, at St. Mihiel, 892.
El Caney, attacked, 797, 798.
Elections, when held and how, 251.
Elections, presidential, 1789, 256; 1792, 271; 1796, 273; 1800, 288–290; 1804, 302; 1808, 311; 1812, 319; 1816, 366; 1820, 368; 1824, 379–380; 1828, 390; 1832, 403–405; 1836, 425; 1840, 433–435; 1844, 441–443; 1848, 451–452; 1852, 485; 1856, 496; 1860, 506–509; 1864, 584; 1868, 641–643; 1872, 649; 1876, 652–657; 1880, 702; 1884, 719; 1888, 723; 1892, 752; 1896, 762; 1900, 827; 1904, 832; 1908, 836; 1912, 848; 1916, 879; 1920, 903; 1924, 925; 1928, 939.
Electoral Commission of 1877, 656.
Ellsworth, Oliver, in constitutional convention, 245.
Elkton, 194.
Emancipation, during civil war, 577–581; "contrabands," 577; with compensation, 578, 580; in confiscation acts, 578; proclamation of, 579, 580; thirteenth amendment, 580.
Embargo Act, passed, 310; enforcement of, 310; repealed, 311; effects of, 311.
Emergency Fleet Corporation, 885.
Employees, non-agricultural, 741.
Endicott, John, settles Salem, 63.
Enforcement bill, of 1870, 633; of 1871, 634; of 1874, 634.
Enfranchisement of women, 904, 905.
England, explorations of, 35; refuses commercial treaty, 262; at war with France, 266; neutrality proclamation, 266; influence in American politics, 271, 276; attitude toward neutral trade, 272, 279; restricts American trade, 306–309; impressment, 306; relenting, 319; war plan, 321; and New England discontent, 335; and the fisheries, 347; execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, 369; relations with, during the civil war, 521–524; favors the South, 521; grants confederate belligerency, 522; and the *Trent* affair, 522; confederate cruisers, 523; and *Alabama* claims, 670, 674; in Samoa, 765; our Samoan relations with, 765–766; and fur seal controversy, 767; and the American war with Spain, 790; and Hay-Pauncefote treaty, 817; rule of, on blockades and contraband in world war, 874; and blockade, 875; and continuous voyage, 875; and submarine warfare, 875; loans to, by the United States, 886; sustains German drives in 1918, 888.
English bill, the, 493.
English stock, distributed, 145.
Enterprise, the, 295, 328.
Eric the Red, 23.
Erie, Fort, 321.
Erie, Lake, battle of, 323, 324.
Erie Railroad, development of, 733.
Erskine, treaty of, 316.
Esch-Cummins Act, 909, 910.

Established Church. *See* Anglican Church.
Estaing, Count d', at Newport, 200; at Savannah, 207.
Essex, the, 295, 328; the case of, 307.
Essex county, 336.
"Essex Junto," 288.
European War. *See* World War.
Eustis, secretary of war, 326.
Eutaw Springs, battle of, 211.
Evans, R. D., at Santiago, 800, 801, 802.
Evarts, William M., defends Johnson, 615, 616, secretary of state, 694; refuses to attend White House dinners, 703.
Everett, Edward, on the patronage, 389.
Ewell, General, in Pennsylvania, 558, 559, 560, 561.
Explorations, on the coast, 31–38.
Explorations of the interior, 37–39.
Ezra Church, battle of, 537.

Fairbanks, C. W., elected vice-president, 832.
Fairfield, Governor, 437.
Falaba, the, sunk by Germany, 876, 877.
Fall, Secretary, and the Oil leases, 923, 924.
Fallen Timber, battle of the, 263.
Falmouth burned, 186.
Farragut, Admiral, at New Orleans, 529; takes Mobile Bay, 571.
Far West, exploration of, 355–357.
Farm-Bloc defeated, 933.
Farm Bureau federation, 915.
Farm depression, 914.
Farm relief issue, 931; measures, 914, 938.
Fava, Baron, withdrawn, 768.
"Federalist," the, authorship of, 247.
Federalists, favor ratification, 247–249; after ratification, 269; strong policy of, 283–285; overthrow of, 287–290; divided, 287; defeated, 288; against war of 1812, 320; and the war of 1812, 335–337.
Federal Budget system, 911.
Federal Reserve Bank, 858–860; the Aldrich report, 859; the Glass Bill, 859; act for, passed, 860; its provisions, 860.
Federal Trade Commission, created by congress, 861.
Ferguson, Major, in North Carolina, 208; at King's Mountain, 208.
Fifth Division, at St. Mihiel, 892.
Filipinos, army in the field, 809; revolt of, 810; revolt subdued, 810; native political party, 812.
Filled Milk Act, 915.
Filmore, Millard, vice-president, 451, 452; president, 458.
Finances, revolutionary debt, 222; continental money, 223; attempts to confer taxing power on congress, 225; first revenue bill of federal congress, 257; reorganization under Hamilton, 259–261; refunding the revolutionary debt, 259; assumption of state debts, 259; Bank established, 260; excise tax, 261; policy of Gallatin, 293; and war of 1812, 319, 320, 321, 336, 348; currency, 1783–1815, 348; in the war of 1812, 348; national debt paid, 422; deposit banks, 423; specie currency favored, 423; surplus revenue, 424; specie circular, 425; subtreasury, 433; in civil war, 519, 574–576; bonds issued, 574, 576; legal tender act, 574; national banks, 575; currency issued, 575; confiscation acts, 576; confederate, 590; Pendelton's ideas, 642; at the end of the civil war, 660; refunding, 661; war taxes reduced, 661, 663; legal tender reduced, 661; resumption of specie payment, 668; inflation demanded in the West, 697; Greenback party, 697; free coinage, 698; Bland-Allison law, 699; resumption achieved, 699–700; tariff reform, 712–715; war taxes, 713; the surplus, 714, 724; McKinley Act, 724–726, 727; Bland law in operation, 746; Silver notes, 746; shrinkage of bank notes, 746; sentiment for silver, 747; Sherman silver law, 747; Windom secretary of treasury, 747; attack on the reserve, 753, 755; repeal of Sherman silver law, 754–755; reserve diminished, 755; "endless chain," the, 755–757; Morgan-Belmont agreement, 756; confidence restored, 757; a corporation tax, 838; currency reform, 850; Aldrich-Vreeland act, 850; Aldrich currency report, 850; Federal Reserve Bank, 858–860.
First Quota Act, 918.
Fiscal readjustment, 911.
First Division, arrival in France, 886; goes into line of defenses, 888; battle of Cantigny, 889; in the operations of July 18, 1918, 891; at St. Mihiel, 892; before Sedan, 894.
"Fiscal Corporation," 435.
Fish, Hamilton, secretary of state, 644; and Santo Domingo annexation, 671; the treaty of Washington, 672; the *Alabama* arbitration, 673; and the *Virginius*, 783.
Fisheries, 4–6; colonial, 141; whaling, 142; and treaty of 1783, 215; condition of, 1783–1815, 347.
Fisher's Hill, battle of, 565.
Fisk, James, scheme to corner gold, 646.
"Five Brothers," the, 861.

Fletcher, Governor, in New York, 103.
Fletcher *v.* Peck, 302, 358.
Florida, the French in, 111; attacked by South Carolina, 119; West, claimed by Jefferson, 300; Jefferson's plan to acquire, 302; conquest expected in 1812, 321, 331; plans to seize, 332; negotiation to purchase, 368–370; acquired, 370; a state, 463; Seminoles under Osceola, 467; readmitted, 624; republicans overthrown, 632; disputed returns in 1876, 655, 657; surrendered to democrats, 657.
Florida, the confederate ship, 523.
Floyd, General, at Fort Donelson, 527.
Foch, Marshal, in supreme command, 889.
Food products, 7.
Food, government control of, 885.
Foote's Resolutions, 396.
Foraker Act, 814.
Forbes, General, expedition against Fort Duquesene, 125.
"Force Bill," 410.
Fordney bonus bill, 913.
Fordney-McCumbert Act, 912, 918; tariff, 912.
Forest, General, and negro prisoners, 574.
Forests, 6.
Forts, Southern, status of, 512; negotiations attempted, 515; Sumter attacked, 516.
Forts, Western, not surrendered, 262; in the Jay treaty, 272.
Four-Power treaty, 921.
Forty-Second Division, goes into line of defenses, 888; in Marne salient, 891; at St. Mihiel, 892; before Sedan, 893.
Foster, British minister, 335.
"Fourteen-Diamond Ring" Case, the, 814.
"Fourteen Points," President Wilson's, 898; accepted by Germany and the *Entente* allies, 899.
Fourth Division, in Marne salient, 891; at St. Mihiel, 892.
Fowltown, attacked, 369.
Fox, Charles James, 308.
Fox's Blockade, 308.
France, explorations of, 35; colony of, in Florida, 111; a colonizing nation, 111, 115, 129; immigrants from, 145; treaties of alliance and commerce, 1778, 198–200; volunteers, 198; sends d'Estaing, 200; army at Yorktown, 212; relations with, 1793, 266; neutrality proclamation, 266; Genêt in America, 266; interpreting the treaties, 267; in American politics, 271, 276; attitude toward neutral trade, 271, 279; and Monroe's mission, 277; refuses to receive Pinckney, 278; seizes American ships, 279; feeling against, 279; warships attacked, 281; three commissioners sent, 279; X, Y, Z papers, 280; treaty of 1800, 282; settles claims, 417–419; seizing American ships, 313, 316; in Mexico, 589, 643; and confederate arms, 589; Seward and Mexico, 643. *See* Napoleon.
Franklin, battle of, 538.
Franklin, Benjamin, and Pennsylvania militia, 105; at Albany congress, 1754, 123; supports acquisition of Canada, 130, 161; and Philadelphia culture, 155; on stamp act, 168; and "common sense," 186; and declaration of independence, 187; in Paris, 198; peace commissioner, 214; opposed to Cincinnati, 229; in Constitutional Convention, 242, 245.
Franklin, General, at Fredericksburg, 556.
"Franklin, State of," 234.
Frayser's Farm, battle of, 549.
Frederick, the Great, on Washington, 192.
Fredericksburg, battle of, 555–557.
Free coinage. *See* Silver.
Freedman, attitude in 1865, 601, 603; "forty acres and a mule," 603; receive the franchise, 607, 609–611; as citizens, 620; republicans, 622; on the juries, 637.
Freedmen's Bureau, created, 603; bill of 1866, 605.
Freeman's Farm, battles of, 197.
Free Soil Party, organized, 452; in 1852, 485.
Frémont, J. C., in California, 449; nominated for presidency, 495; in Missouri, 542, 577; emancipation order, 578.
French, activity in Ohio valley, 121; in the English colonies, 145.
French and Indian wars, 115–130; influence of, 100.
Frenchtown, 323.
Friar lands, 812.
Frolic, the, 327, 328.
Frontenac, services to New France, 115, 116; control of the lakes, 116; and the Iroquois, 117.
Frontenac, Fort, destroyed, 125, 126.
Frontier, advance in colonial times, 2, 100.
Frontiersmen, American-born, 148.
Fuel, government control of, 885.
Fugitive Slave Law, 351; a new, 455, 457; not enforced, 486.
Fur seal controversy, 767.
Fur trade, 4.

Gage, General, commander-in-chief, 171; in Boston, 178, 180; attempts to seize supplies, 180; Bunker Hill, 181.
Gaines's Mill, battle of, 548.
Gallatin, Albert, and whisky insurrection,

268; secretary of treasury, 292; financial policy, 293; compared with Hamilton, 294; and war finance, 319, 320, 321; commissioner at Ghent, 334.
Gama, Vasco da, reaches India, 34.
Game, destroyed in the West, 683.
Garfield, Harry A., fuel administrator, 885.
Garfield, James A., announces radical program, 608; nominated for presidency, 702; elected, 702; cabinet, 703; relation to civil service reform, 704, 708; death of, 705.
Garrison, Lindley M., secretary of war, 854; resigns, 879.
Garrison, W. L., work of, 429.
Gaspée, destroyed, 175, note.
Gates, General, against Burgoyne, 197; command in the South, 207; superseded, 208; and army plot, 224.
Guam, acquisition of, 806.
Genesee, lands, 341.
Gênet, in the United States, 266; on Washington, 266; and the republicans, 266, 271.
Geneva, arbitration tribunal at, 673.
Georgia, established, 109; government of, 110; relations with Spaniards, 110; Whitefield, Rev. George, 110; and stamp act, 168; overrun by British, 206; recovered by Americans, 211; ratifies the constitution, 248; and Western lands, 263, 264; and parties, 271; and Yazoo claims, 301, 302; cedes lands, 344; Indians to be removed, 344; immigration to, 344; land grants in Fletcher *v.* Peck, 358; and the Cherokees, 400, 407, 466; rejects nullification, 400; Indians removed, 466; Governor Jenkins removed, 623; military government restored, 625; readmitted, 625; republicans overthrown, 631.
Georgia *v.* Stanton, case of, 612.
Gerard, James W., 881.
Germain, Lord, 192, 193.
Germans, settled in the colonies, 146.
Germantown, battle of, 194.
Germany, in Samoa, 765; our Samoan relations with, 765–766; feeling in regard to war with Spain, 790; her fleet in Manila Bay, 792; and Venezuelan debts, 826; propaganda of, 873; violates neutrality, 873; on the sale of munitions, 874; and Declaration of London of 1909, 874; and contraband and blockade, 875; and continuous voyage, 875; and use of submarines, 875–877; yields at last on submarines, 877; peace bid of, 1916, 880; adopts ruthless warfare, 880; intercourse with, broken, 881; war with, authorized, 882; progress of the war with, 882–897; her drives in 1918, 888–890; political revolution in, 898; requests an armistice, 899; imperial monarchy overthrown, 899; signs treaty of Versailles, 902.
Gerry, Elbridge, commissioner to France, 279, 280; vice-president, 319.
Gettysburg, battle of, 559–562.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, and colonization, 42.
Glacial period, influence of, 6.
Glass, Carter, and the Federal Reserve Act, 859.
Glen, Springs, Texas, raided by Villa, 871.
Gloucester, the, 800, 801.
Glover, Colonel, 190.
Goethals, G. W., at Panama, 822.
Gold, deposits of, 10.
Gold, in Hayti, 30; in California, 480; mining of, 677–680.
Gold plank, adopted by republicans, 760.
Goldsboro, N. C., Sherman halts at, 541.
Gompers assails strike injunction, 910.
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 62, 70.
Gorman, A. P., opposed to Cleveland, 721.
Gosnold, Bartholomew, aids colonization, 45; a Virginia councillor, 47.
Gould, Jay, scheme to corner gold, 646.
Gourgues, Dominique, de, 111.
Government, colonial, Virginia, 45, 49; Maryland, 53; Plymouth, 61, 62; Massachusetts, 64; New Haven, 69; New England confederation, 71; in New Netherland, 74; in Carolinas, 82, 83; in New York, 83; the New York assembly, 84; influence of revolution of 1688, 100; voting money, 101–102.
Governor, salary of, 101–102.
Graham, William A., nominated for vice-presidency, 485.
"Granger Laws," 734.
Grant, Colonel, against the Cherokees, 131.
Grant, U. S., campaign in the Tennessee, 527–529; at Forts Henry and Donelson, 527; confident position on the Tennessee, 528; at battle of Shiloh, 528; operations against Vicksburg, 530–532; at Chattanooga, 34; lieutenant-general, 535; transferred to Virginia, 535; from the Wilderness to Petersburg, 563–564; pursues Lee, 567; at Appomattox, 567; secretary of war, 614; quarrel with Johnson, 614; attitude toward reconstruction, 633, 645; nominated for presidency, 641; elected, 643; his political errors, 641; cabinet, 644; and civil service reform, 646; the Gould-Fish scheme, 646; renominated, 648; reëlected, 649; as president, 649; relation with whisky ring, 651; and

Belknap scandal, 652; candidate for third term in 1876, 652; in 1880, 702; Santo Domingo treaty, 671; trip around the world, 702; and civil service reform, 707.
Grasse, Count de, in the Chesapeake, 212.
Graves, Admiral, to aid of Cornwallis, 212.
"Great Awakening," the, 150.
Great Britain. *See* England.
Great Meadows, 122.
Greeks and sphericity of the earth, 26.
Greeley, Horace, on emancipation, 579; on Jefferson Davis's bond, 641; nominated by liberal republicans, 648; indorsed by the democrats, 648; death of, 649.
Green, Duff, 402.
Greenback Party, 697, 698, 702.
Greene, Nathaniel, at Bunker Hill, 182; at Brooklyn, 189; at Forts Washington and Lee, 191; in command in the South, 208; retreat in North Carolina, 209; at Guilford Courthouse, 210; returns to South Carolina, 210; success in the South, 211.
Greenville, Fort, treaty of, 263.
Grenville, George, colonial policy of, 162–164.
Grenville, Sir Richard, at Roanoke Island, 42.
Groveton, Jackson at, 552.
Guadaloupe Hidalgo, treaty of, 450.
Guadeloupe, not ceded in 1763, 129.
Guantanamo, seized, 795.
Guatemala and Central American peace league, 866.
Guerrière, the, and impressments, 317; taken by the *Constitution*, 327.
Guilford Courthouse, battle of, 210.

Habeas Corpus, suspension of, 585, 586; act concerning, 613.
Hahn, Governor, in Louisiana, 597.
"Hair Buyer," the, 203, 204.
Haiti, protectorate over, 865.
Hakluyt, Richard, and Virginia colonization, 44.
Hale, John P., 452; nominated in 1852, 485.
Hale, Nathan, 190.
"Half-Breeds," 695.
"Halfway Covenant," the, 150.
Halleck, General, commands in the West, 527; takes Corinth, 529; called to Washington, 530; and Pope, 550.
Hamburg-American Steamship Co., and violations of neutrality, 873.
Hamet, 295.
Hamilton, the, "Hair Buyer," 203, 204.
Hamilton, Alexander, at Yorktown, 213; desires strong government, 223; defends a tory, 231; plan in constitutional convention, 243; and the "Federalist," 247; on ratification, 249; secretary of the treasury, 257; financial system, 259–261; and the bank, 261; his nationalism, 261; and the whisky insurrection, 267–269; and federalist party, 270; and Washington, 271; opposed to Adams, 273, 276, 282, 287, 289; private character attacked, 278; and command of army, 281; defeats Burr, 289; compared with Gallatin, 294; defeats Burr's plots, 301; killed by Burr, 301.
Hampton, Wade, 324; and South Carolina governorship, 655, 657, 694.
Hampton Roads, reached by the Virginia colonists, 46.
Hampton Roads, conference, 566.
Hancock, John, colonial leader, 172; and Shays's Rebellion, 236; and ratification, 248.
Hancock, W. S., military governor, 623; nominated for presidency, 702.
Hanna, M. A., and McKinley, 1896, 760; suggested for nomination in 1904, 832.
Harding, Sir John, and the *Alabama*, 523.
Harding, Warren G., nominated for presidency, 903, 905; elected, 904, 906; character of, 908; foreign policies, 908; did not favor League of Nations, 909; calls Unemployment Conference, 911; opposes Soldiers' Bonus, 913; attitude towards League of Nations, 918, 919; death of, 922; Scandals under his administration, 923.
Harlem, battle of, 190.
Harmar, Fort, treaty of, 262.
Harmon, Judson, candidate for nomination, 845, 846.
Harper's Ferry, John Brown at, 502–504; captured by Jackson, 554.
Harrisburg, threatened by Ewell, 559.
Harrison, Benjamin, and the civil service, 709; nominated, 722; elected, 723; cabinet, 723; not popular, 748; and Blaine, 749; split with Quay, 749; renominated, 749; defeated, 750; maintaining the reserve, 752; and Hawaii, 773.
Harrison, W. H., at Tippecanoe, 318; on the Canadian frontier, 323; recovers Detroit, 323; at battle of the Thames, 323; and the land sales, 343; supported for presidency, 1836, 425; elected president, 434; death of, 435.
Harrison's Landing, 549.
Hartford, settled by Dutch, 69; arrival of English, 69; expulsion of Dutch, 75.

Hartford Convention, 336.
Harvard College, founded, 153; curriculum, 153.
Harvard University, development of, 480.
Havana, taken by the British, 129.
Haverhill, taken by French and Indians, 117.
Hawaii, early history, 771; work of missionaries, 772; treaty with, 772; revolution of 1893, 772; annexation refused, 772, 773; annexation accomplished, 773; present status, 774.
Hawkins, Captain John, and the slave trade, 41.
Hay, John, treaty with England, 817; convention with Herran, 818; treaty with Panama, 820; and China, 822–824.
Hay Bill, the, 878.
Hayes, R. B., nominated, 653; disputed returns, 654; declared elected, 657; attitude toward South, 658, 693, 694–695; cabinet, 694; a divided party, 695; as president, 703; and civil service reform, 708; and an isthmian canal, 816.
Hayes, Mrs., in the White House, 703.
Haymarket anarchists, 742.
Hayne, R. Y., in debate with Webster, 396–398.
Hayne-Webster debate, 396–398.
Hay-Pauncefote treaty, 817.
Hayti, discovered, 29; settled, 30, 31.
Hearst, W. R., 835.
Heath, Sir Robert, 52.
Helper, H. R., his "impending Crisis," 504.
Hendricks, Thomas A., nominated for vice-presidency, 653, 716.
Henry, Fort, captured, 527.
Henry, John, 335.
Henry, Patrick, resolutions on stamp act, 166; committee of correspondence, 174; and George Rogers Clark, 203; opposes ratification, 249; on amendments, 257.
Hepburn rate-bill, 833.
Hepburn *v.* Griswold, 663.
Herkimer, General, 196.
Highlanders, settled in the colonies, 147.
High Tariff, arguments on, 912; measures, 912; return to, 912.
Hill, A. P., at Mechanicsville, 548; in Gettysburg campaign, 558, 559, 560.
Hill, D. B., opposed to Cleveland, 720; governor of New York, 720; waives opposition to Cleveland, 722; and the Cleveland vote, 723; candidate for nomination, 750; speech at Chicago convention, 759.
Hill, D. H., at Mechanicsville, 548; lost dispatch to, 554.
Hillsborough, Lord, secretary of the colonies, 171.
Hoar, E. R., attorney-general, 644; dismissed, 645.
Hobson, R. P., at Santiago, 794.
Hohenzollerns, overthrown, 899.
Hojeda, 31, 32, 36.
Holden, W. W., Governor, 600; appeals to martial law, 631; impeached, 632.
Holland. *See* Dutch.
Honduras and Central American peace league, 866.
Hood, General, succeeds Johnston, 537; fights around Atlanta, 537; threatens Sherman's base, 537; movement against Nashville, 538; beaten, 539.
Hooker, General, in Tennessee, 534; at Lookout Mountain, 534; at Fredericksburg, 557; in command, 557; Chancellorsville, 557–558.
Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 69.
Hoover, Herbert, food administrator, 885, 905; secretary of commerce, 908; plan of farm relief, 938; nominated to presidency, 937; elected, 939; calls special session, 939; makes "good will" tour, 939.
Hornet, the, sinks the *Peacock*, 327.
Horse Shoe Bend, battle of, 332.
"Hortalez et Cie," 198.
House, Col. E. M., delegate to the Peace Conference, 900.
Houston, David F., secretary of agriculture, 854.
Houston, Sam, in Texas, 421.
Howard, General, at Chancellorsville, 558.
Howe, Elias, 465.
Howe, General George, death of, 126.
Howe, General William, at Bunker Hill, 181; succeeds Gage, 182; operations at New York, 188–191; Philadelphia campaign, 194–195; superseded, 200; battle of Monmouth, 200; not in coöperation with Burgoyne, 193, 195; expedition against Philadelphia, 193–194.
Howe, Lord, off New York, 188; meets d'Estaing, 201.
"Hubbell, My dear," 704.
Hudson, Henry, explorations of, 72.
Hudson Bay Company, founded, 119.
Hudson River, desired by France, 116.
Huerta, General, usurps power in Mexico, 868; and the death of Madero, 868; excluded from office, 870.
Hughes, Charles E., candidate for the presidency, 879; investigates airplane construction, 884; suggests amendments to the League covenant, 901; secretary of state, 908.
Huguenots, in South Carolina, 83; settled in colonies, 145.

Hull, Captain Isaac, 327.
Hull, General, at Detroit, 322.
Humphreys, Governor, removed from office, 623.
Hunkers, 451; at convention of 1848, 452.
Hurons, and the French, 113.
Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, her heresy, 66; trial, 67; banished, 67; death, 67.
Hutchinson, Chief Justice, 167.
Hyde, Edward. *See* Lord Cornbury.

Idaho, territory and state, 678, 680, 748.
Illinois, territory created, 344; county of, 204; Black Hawk war, 466.
Immigration, 1815–1861, 461–462; distribution of, 462; and politics, 462; growth after civil war, 665; Chinese, 774; Japanese, 776; drastic restrictions on, 917; new policy, 917, 918; Act of 1924, 918; Japanese, 918.
Impeachment of Johnson, collecting evidence, 613; the trial, 615–617.
Impressment of seamen, 306; a cause of war, 313; *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, 314; negotiations concerning, 315; not settled at Ghent, 334.
Income tax, amendment suggested, 838; adopted, 838; 1913, 857.
Independence, two groups of opinion, 186, 187; states recommend, 187; declaration of, 187.
Independents, the, as a political force, 693; relation to civil service reform, 707–708; in campaign of 1884, 718.
Indians, hold back the frontier, 2; and early man, 12; classification of, 13–15; Algonquian family, 13; Iroquoian family, 14; Muskhogean family, 14; Siouan family, 14; Caddoan family, 14; Shoshonean family, 14; Shahaptian family, 14; Salishan family, 14; Athapascan family, 14; Eskimauan family, 14; Pacific coast tribes, 15; culture of, 15–21; government, 15–17; the clan, 15; the sachem, 16; the chief, 16; the council, 16; the brotherhood, 17; names, 17; wars, 17; leading tribes, 18; wars against whites, 18; character, 19; mind, 19; religion, 19; mythology, 20; houses, 20; pueblos, 20; and civilization, 21; present state, 21; called such by Columbus, 29; enslaved, 30; harsh treatment by Spaniards, 30; of Virginia, 47, 48; wars in Virginia, 51; relations with Plymouth colony, 61; Pequot war, 70; war against New Netherland, 73; King Philip's war, 92; raids on New England, 116, 117, 118; relations with English, 121; Southern friendship sought by France and England, 121; trade with Southern, 121; Cherokees at war, 1759, 130; treaty at Fort Niagara, 132; war in Ohio, 262; treaty of Greenville, 263; depredations in the South, 265; punished by Tennesseans, 265; plans of Tecumseh, 318; the Southern, 318; Creeks subdued, 332; Northwestern pressed back, 344; Seminole war, 368; in Georgia, 400; status of a tribe, 400; process of removal, 465–468; Black Hawk war, 466; reservation system, 468; of the Far West, 683–689; arrival of white men, 683; game destroyed, 683; far western tribes, 683; wars of, 684–689; commission of 1867–1868, 685; Sioux commission, 688; treaties not to be made with, 690; Dawes act, 690; Burke act, 690; late policy, 690, 691.
Indiana, territory created, 344.
Indiana, the, 800, 801.
Indian territory, conditions of, 467.
Indigo, a staple crop, 8.
Industrial combinations. *See* Combinations.
Industry, after the revolution, 225; after civil war, 664–666.
Inhabitants, early, 11–13.
Injunctions, use against strikers, 744.
"Insular Cases," 814.
Insurance, life, investigating the companies, 833.
Insurgents, the, origin of, 837; victory over Cannon, 838; in campaign of 1912, 843; found the progressive party, 847.
Intermediate credit banks, 915.
Intercourse with Germany broken, 881.
Internal improvements, policy of, 365; bonus bill vetoed, 365; by the states, 366; checked by Jackson, 304–396; Cumberland road bill, 395; Calhoun's report on, 395; later history of, 396.
Interstate commerce act, 735; powers of commission increased, 833, 839.
Iowa, a state, 463.
Iowa, the, 800, 801.
Iron, deposits, 8, 10; early manufacture of, 10.
Iroquois, 18; attitude toward French, 112; power of, 113; relations with the English, 114; Frontenac and, 117, 118; recognized as British subjects, 119; and the Albany congress, 122.
Irrigation, 849.
Island No. 10, 529.
Isthmian canal, and Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 458.
Isthmian canal project, early history of,

814–817; French canal, 815–816; Hayes's idea, 816; Nicaraguan, 817; Panama, 817–818, 821–822.
Italy, and Mafia incident, 767; United States troops in, 895.
Itata, the, 769.

Jackson, Andrew, and Burr, 304; to serve against Florida, 332; conquers the Creeks, 332; at Pensacola, 332; New Orleans campaign, 332–334; enters Florida, 369; attacked by Clay, 370; candidate for presidency, 1824, 377, 378, 379–380; his party in 1825–1829, 382; attack on Adams, 384; as party leader, 388; party demands, 389; elected, 390; inaugurated, 392; his cabinet, 392; checks internal improvements, 394–396; "Union" toast, 399; attitude toward Georgia, 400; open breach with Calhoun, 401; cabinet reorganized, 402; renominated, 402, 404; elected, 405; denounces nullification, 408; and the "force bill," 410; "war" against the bank, 411–415; idea of a bank, 412; resolutions of censure, 415; and West India Trade, 415–417; the French claims, 417–419; and the surplus, 424; on Van Buren's Texas letter, 442; Georgia Indians removed, 466; relation to democratic reform, 474.
Jackson, F. J., minister from England, 316, 335.
Jackson, Fort, treaty of, 332.
Jackson, Stonewall, at Bull Run, 519; diversion in the valley, 547; at Cedar Mountain, 551; takes Harper's Ferry, 554; at Antietam, 555; at Fredericksburg, 556; at Chancellorsville, 557; death of, 558.
Jackson, Mississippi, captured by Grant, 531.
James I, and the colonies, 76.
Jameson, J. Franklin, and Venezuelan boundary, 780.
James River, opened by the federals, 546; McClellan reaches, 549.
Jamestown, settled, 47; early history, 47–50; natural beauty, 47; disease at, 47; starvation, 48; land distributed, 49.
Japan, relations with, 775–777; war with Russia, 824; at treaty of Portsmouth, 824.
Japanese immigration, 918.
Jay, John, peace commissioner, 214; and the "Federalist," 247; on ratification, 249; negotiates treaty, 272.
Jay Cooke and Co., failure of, 666.
Jefferson, Thomas, 174; and the declaration of independence, 187; and Northwest, 232; secretary of state, 257; and assumption, 260; against the bank, 261; forms republican party, 270; leaves cabinet, 271; elected vice-president, 274; and election of 1796, 274; declines French ministry, 276; reply to alien and sedition laws, 285; elected president, 288–290; views of, 291–292; inaugurated, 291–292; cabinet, 292; appointments, 292; and the federal courts, 294; and Louisiana purchase, 296–299; popularity of, 300; and Burr, 300; and Randolph, 301; reëlected, 302; and trade restrictions, 307–311; and Monroe treaty 310; and embargo act, 310–311; on the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, 315; failure of his gunboats, 326.
Jefferson and the state university, 479.
Jenckes, Thomas, and civil service reform, 707.
Jenkins, Governor, removed, 623.
Jesuits, in Canada, 113.
Jews, in the colonies, 147.
Johnson, Andrew, nominated for vice-presidency, 584, 599; as president, 599; his plan of reconstruction, 599–601; relations with his cabinet, 600; amnesty of, 600; popularity in 1865, 604; projected party, 604; vetoes freedmen's bureau bill, 605; popularity wanes, 605; vetoes civil rights bill, 606; enforces congressional reconstruction, 611; "swinging-around-the-circle," 611; impeachment of, 613–617; acquittal, 616–617; and negro suffrage, 622.
Johnson, Hiram, nominated for vice-presidency, 847.
Johnson, Reverdy, 670.
Johnson, R. M., 318; elected vice-president, 425.
Johnson, Sir William, 124.
Johnson-Clarendon convention, 670.
Johnston, A. S., defense of Nashville, 528; falls back to Corinth, 528; attacks at Shiloh, 528; killed, 528.
Johnston, Joseph E., at Bull Run, 519; against Grant at Vicksburg, 531; succeeds Bragg, 535; operations against Sherman, 535–537; removed, 537; restored to command, 539; before Sherman in North Carolina, 540, 541; defending Richmond, 545; wounded at Seven Pines, 548; surrenders to Sherman, 568.
Joliet, reaches the Mississippi, 114.
Jones, John Paul, 205.
Jones, Willie, and John Paul Jones, 205.
Jones-Stalker Act, 936.
Jury, the negro on, 637.

Kalakaua, king of Hawaii, 772.
Kalb, arrival in America, 198; killed at Camden, 208.
Kansas, struggle for, 489–493; two streams of settlers, 483; two governments, 483–490; statehood suggested, 490; Kansas debate, 490; violence in, 491; failure of Governor Walker, 492; Lecompton constitution, 492; the English bill, 493; admitted to the union, 493.
Kansas-Nebraska act, origin of, 486; passed, 487; significance, 487; consequences, 489.
Kaskaskia, 343; taken by Clark, 204.
Kearny, General, expedition to California, 448.
Kearney, Phil, killed in battle, 553.
Kellogg Multilateral pact, 930.
Kennebec, colony on, 46.
Kennesaw Mountain, battle of, 536.
Kent, General, at Santiago, 796, 797, 798.
Kent's Island, 55.
Kentucky, Indians attack, 203; aid given against Ferguson, 208; settled, 232, 233; a state, 264; threatened rebellion of, 264; and parties, 271; struggle for union in, 517; defense of, 527; Bragg in, 529.
Kentucky resolutions, 285–287.
Key West, American fleet at, 793.
Kidnapping, 137.
Kieft, William, governor of New Amsterdam, 73.
King, W. R., elected vice-president, 485.
King George's War, 120.
King's Mountain, battle of, 208.
King William's War, 116.
"Kitchen Cabinet," 393.
Knight, Admiral A. M., 896.
Knights of Labor, early history, 741; violent element, 742; and St. Louis strike, 742; and Chicago strike, 742; decline of, 743.
"Know Ye" resolutions, 236.
Know-Nothing party, origin, 493; failure of, 494.
Knox, Henry, secretary of war, 257; supports Hamilton, 261; and new army, 281.
Knox, Senator, 903; resolution of, 903, 908.
Kriemhilde Stellung, 893, 894.
Ku Klux act, of 1871, 629, 634.
Ku Klux Klan, history of, 627–630; methods, 628; organization, 628; congress interferes, 629; achievement of, 629; connected with politics, 630; in North Carolina, 631, 917, 926.

Labor, white servants, 137; redemptioners, 146; department of, 851.
Labor troubles, 914.
Ladrone Islands, 805, 806.
Lafayette, Marquis, volunteers, 198; at Monmouth, 200; in Virginia, 211.
La Folette, Senator, presidential candidate, 843; his filibuster against arming of merchantmen, 881; nominated to presidency, 926.
Lake George, battle of, 124.
Lamar, L. Q. C., on Seward, 507; in Cleveland's cabinet, 720.
Land, bottom, 2, 7; distributed in Plymouth, 61; distribution of, in Virginia, 49; return from, in early Virginia, 50; patroons in New Netherland, 73; distribution of, 134; taking it up, 136; Western, 231–234; surrendered by states, 231; sale of, 232, 342, 343; military grants, 342; great companies, 342; Southwestern, 345.
Lane, Franklin K., secretary of the interior, 854.
Lane, Ralph, and Roanoke Island, 42.
Lansing skulls, 12.
La Salle, explores the Mississippi, 114.
Las Guasimas, 796.
Latin Americans, political ideals of, 863.
Laudonnière, leads colony to Florida, 111.
Laurens, Henry, peace commissioner, 214.
Lawrence, Captain, 327.
Lawrence, Kansas, attacked, 491.
Lawton, General, at Santiago, 796, 797, 798; carries El Caney, 798.
League of Nations, adopted by Peace Conference, 901; the covenant of, 901; debated by the senate, 901; Article X, 903; in the campaign of 1920, 903; first meeting of, 903; divided opinions on, 905; Harding unfavorable to, 909, 918, 919; Coolidge's attitude towards, 919.
Lecompton constitution, the, 492; Douglas opposes, 492; defeated, 493.
Lee, Arthur, in Paris, 198.
Lee, Fort, 188, 191.
Lee, General Charles, in New York campaign, 191; his character, 197; at Monmouth, 200; dismissed, 200; on Gates, 207.
Lee, R. E., repulsed in West Virginia, 526; as commander, 545; takes command, 548; defeats McClellan, 548–549; moves against Pope, 551–553; the Antietam campaign, 553–555; at Fredericksburg, 555–557; at Chancellorsville, 557–558; invasion of Pennsylvania, 558; in Gettysburg campaign, 558–562; his generalship, 562; at the Wilderness, 563; at Spottsylvania, 563; at Cold Harbor, 563; evacuates Richmond, 566; surrenders, 567; captures John Brown, 503.

Lee, R. H., resolutions in continental congress, 187; on ratification, 249.
Lee, the, 182.
Legal tender, retiring the notes, 662; decisions on, 663–664; redemption of, 668; more demanded, 668; resumption act, 669.
Legal tender act, 574.
Leif Ericsson, 23.
Leisler, Jacob, initiates revolution, 96; defeat of, 102.
Leopard, attacks the *Chesapeake*, 314.
Lepe, Diego de, 32.
Lévis, attacks Quebec, 128.
Lewis, Meriwether, explorations, 356.
Lewis, W. B., in "Kitchen Cabinet," 393.
Lewis and Clark, explorations, 355.
Lexington, battle of, 180.
Liberal republicans, origin of, 648; nominate Greeley, 648.
Liliuokalani, Queen, 772, 773.
Linares, General, defender of Santiago, 796, 797; errors of, 802.
Lincoln, Abraham, in debate with Douglas, 499–503; "House divided" speech, 500; destroying Douglas, 501; nominated for presidency, 508; elected, 509; attitude toward secession, 514; first inaugural, 515; calls for volunteers, 517; and McClellan, 545, 546, 549; and emancipation, 577–581; at Hampton Roads, 566; assassinated, 568; his greatness, 568; war policy criticized, 581, 582; his renomination opposed, 583; renominated, 584; reëlected, 584; military law, 585, 586; plan of reconstruction, 596–599; amnesty proclamation, 596; and the Wade-Davis bill, 597; and negro suffrage, 597, 622.
Lincoln-Douglas debates, 499–502; effect of, 502.
Lincoln, General, at Charleston, 207; receives Cornwallis's sword, 213; and Shays's Rebellion, 236.
Lind, John, in Mexico, 869.
Liquor smuggling, 935.
Little Big Horn, battle of, 688.
Little Sarah, the, 267.
Livingston, Edward, minister to Paris, 418.
Livingston, Robert R., 187; on ratification, 249; and Louisiana purchase, 297–299.
Lobby, President Wilson's charges against it, 857.
"Locofocos," 433.
Lodge, H. C., in campaign of 1884, 716.
Logan, General J. A., nominated for vice-presidency, 716.
Logan, James A., culture of, 155.
London Company, created, 45, 46; reformed, 50; services to Virginia, 51; and Maryland settlement, 52; and Pilgrims, 52, 59.
Longstreet, General, at Chickamauga, 533; at Knoxville, 535; at second Bull Run, 552; at Fredericksburg, 556; in Gettysburg campaign, 559, 560, 561.
Lookout Mountain, capture of, 534.
Lords of Trade, 77.
Lorimer, Senator, investigation, 842.
Loudon, Fort, captured, 130.
Louisburg, taken by colonials, 120; futile expedition against, 125; taken, 125, 126.
Louisiana, early history, 115; purchase of, 296–299; boundaries of, 299; and Burr's scheme, 304; territory of, 345; territory of Orleans, 345; admitted to union, 345; population of, 1810, 345; reconstructed under Lincoln, 596; readmitted, 624; republicans overthrown, 633; disputed returns in 1876, 655, 657; surrendered to democrats, 657.
Louis XIV, and New France, 115.
Lowndes, William, elected to congress, 318; on the tariff, 364.
Lumber industry, 6.
Lundy, Benjamin, work of, 428.
Lundy's Lane, battle of, 325.
Lusitania, the loss of, 873, 876.
Lutheran Church, 354.
Lyon, General, and Missouri secessionists, 517, 526; death of, 526; defense of Missouri, 541.
Lyttleton, Governor, and Cherokee war, 130.

McAdoo, William G., secretary of the treasury, 854, 855; director-general of transportation, 885.
McCardle, *ex parte*, case of, 613.
McClellan, General, in West Virginia, 520, 526; in command in Virginia, 545; tardiness, 545; in the Peninsula campaign, 546–550; controversy over, 550; in the Antietam campaign, 554; nominated for presidency, 584.
McCormick reaper, invented, 465.
McCulloch, Hugh, as financier, 660; his refunding plans, 661.
McCulloch *v.* Maryland, case of, 359.
MacDonald, Donald, 183.
MacDonough, Captain, victory on Lake Champlain, 325.
McDowell, General, in Bull Run campaign, 519; and McClellan, 546, 547; at second Bull Run, 554.

Macedonian, the, 327, 328.
Machine guns, supplies of, 884; value of, in covering a retreat, 891.
McGillivray, Alexander, 265.
McHenry, Fort, defended against British, 330.
McHenry, James, dismissed from the cabinet, 287.
McKinley, William Jr., and the civil service, 711; and the tariff, 715; as leader, 723; his tariff bill, 724–726; effect of, 727; nominated, 1896, 760; campaign of, 761; elected, 762; attitude toward Spain, 787, 789; and the *Maine*, 788; demands armistice in Cuba, 789; suggests war, 789; responsible for Manila, 792; and Schley-Sampson controversy, 804; and acquisition of the Philippines, 805; reëlected, 827; death of, 827; later policy of, 829.
McKinley tariff and Sherman silver law, 747.
McLane, Lewis, and the bank, 412, 413; and West Indian trade, 417.
McLean, J. J., for president, 425; in Dred Scott case, 498.
McNary-Haugen bill, 916, 932, 934; vetoed by Coolidge, 933; not acceptable to Hoover, 938.
Macomb, General, 325.
Macon, Nathaniel, speaker, 303; "Macon's Bill No. 2," 311, 313.
"Macon's Bill No. 2," 311, 313, 317.
McReynolds, James C., attorney-general, 854.
Madison, on Potomac smugglers, 241; "Notes" on constitutional debates, 242; author of Virginia plan, 243; and the "Federalist," 247; supports ratification, 249; and first revenue bill, 257; position on refunding, 259; retaliatory resolutions, 272; declines French ministry, 276; and Virginia Resolutions, 285–287; secretary of state, 292; disliked by Randolph, 302; elected president, 311; hoodwinked by Napoleon, 317; favors war party, 319; renominated, 319; reëlected, 319.
Madero, Francisco, becomes president of Mexico, 868; overthrown by Huerta, 868.
Mafia Incident, 767.
Magellan, voyage of, 33.
Mails, use for antislavery literature, 430.
Maine, early settlements in, 62, 70; hold of British in, 331; a state, 373; boundary dispute, 437–438; prohibition in, 480.
Maine, the, destroyed at Havana, 787, 788.
Malden, Fort, 321; Hull before, 322; evacuated, 323.
Malvern Hill, battle of, 549.
Manassas, battle of, 552.
Mangum, W. P., 426.
Manhattan Island. *See* New York.
Manila, battle of, 791; holding the bay, 792; Aguinaldo at, 809; capture of, 792, 809.
Manley, John, 182.
Manufactures, colonial, 140; British restrictions on, 141; new era of, 348; early, 349; effect of embargo, 349; effect on society, 349; demand a tariff, 364, 384–386; growth of, 463; combination in 736–740.
Maps of America, early, 36.
Marbois, and Louisiana purchase, 299.
Marbury *v.* Madison, case of, 357.
Marco Polo, 26.
Marcy, W. L., a Hunker, 451.
Maria Teresa, the, 800, 801.
Marietta, settled, 342.
Marines, United States, arrival in France, 886; near Château-Thierry, 889, 890.
Marion, partisan leader, 207; under Greene, 210.
Marne salient, United States troops in, 889–891.
Marquette, Father, reaches the Mississippi, 114.
Marshall, John, on ratification, 249; commissioner to France, 279; secretary of state, 276, 287; Chief Justice, 291; at Burr's trial, 305; influence on the constitution, 357–360.
Marshall, Thomas R., nominated for vice-president, 847.
Martin, Luther, 242, 245.
Martinique, not ceded in 1763, 129.
Marye's Heights, 556.
Maryland, early history, 52–57; government of, 53, 54; religious toleration, 53; first colony, 53, 54; the assembly, 54; manors in, 55; Jesuits in, 55; struggle for Kent's Island, 55; and Virginia politics, 56; civil war in, 57; toleration act of 1649, 57; battle of Providence, 57; and the restoration, 80; reactionary government under Charles Calvert, 88; revolution, 89, 97; trade, 142; religion in, 151; and western lands, 232; confers with Virginia on trade, 241; struggle for union in, 517; Lee invades, 553–555; military arrests in, 585.
Mason, Captain John, 62, 70.
Mason, George, on ratification, 249.
Mason and Slidell, seized on the *Trent*, 522.
Massachusetts, early settlements in, 62, 63.
Massachusetts, and New England confeder-

ation, 71; during the restoration period, 80; charter annulled, 93; and the Dominion of New England, 94; rule of Andros, 93–95; overthrow of Andros, 96; new charter, 97; salary controversy, 101; and paper money, 158; resists stamp act, 167; resists quartering troops, 169; in the revolutionary quarrel, 170; parliament censures, 171; troops sent, 171; committees appointed, 174; charter changed by parliament, 176; general sympathy for, 177; Shays's Rebellion, 236; ratifies the constitution, 248; public schools in, 476; work of Horace Mann, 477; cedes Maine, 373.
Massachusetts, the, 800, 801.
Massachusetts Bay, colony of, charter, 63; population, 64; early government, 64; the franchise, 65; suspected by the king, 66. *See* Massachusetts.
Massasoit, 61.
Matamoras, taken by Taylor, 447.
Mather, Rev. Cotton, and witchcraft, 149.
Mather, Rev. Increase, and witches, 149.
Maximilian of Baden, Prince, German Chancellor, 898, 899.
Mayflower, voyage of, 60.
"Mayflower Compact," the, 61.
Mayo, Admiral, at Tampico, 869; in world war, 896.
Maysville veto, 395.
Meade, General, in command, 559; in Gettysburg campaign, 559–562.
"Meat Trust," 839.
Mechanicsville, battle of, 548.
Mecklenburg county, resolves of, 180.
"Mediterranean Fund," 293.
Mellon, Andrew W., secretary of treasury, 908.
Mellon-Andrews Act of 1925, 935.
Menendez, Pedro, 111.
Merchant-Marine Act of 1920, 910.
Merchantmen, arming of, 881.
Merrimac, the, 569; sunk at Santiago, 794.
Merritt, Wesley, at Manila, 792, 810.
Methodist Church, founded in America, 353; divided by slavery, 456, 471.
Meuse-Argonne Campaign, 893.
Mexican Congress, 929.
Mexico, conquest of, 37; and Burr's scheme, 304; early relations with Texas, 419; refuses to sell Texas, 420; refuses to sell California, 446; war with, 446–450; city of, taken, 450; treaty with, 450; French in, 589, 643; relations with, under Wilson, 867–871; treatment of foreigners under Diaz, 867; Madero and Huerta, 868; Tampico incident, 869; Vera Cruz seized, 869; negotiations of "A. B. C. Powers," 870; Pershing in, 870; results of Wilson's policy in, 871; friction with, 928.
Michigan, territory created, 344; a state, 463.
Mifflin, Governor, and whisky insurrection, 268.
Milan Decree, 309.
Miles, N. A., and Jefferson Davis, 64; takes Porto Rico, 801.
Military government established in the South, 609–611, 622–625; supreme court on, 612, 613; reëstablished in the South, 622–625.
Military law, in civil war, 581, 585, 586.
Milligan, *ex parte*, case of, 612.
"Millionaire's panic," 739.
Mineral oils, 10.
Minerals, 8–11.
Mines, submarine, 897.
Mining, in the Far West, 677–680; conditions, 678; laws, 678.
Minnesota, a state, 463.
Minuit, Peter, governor of New Amsterdam, 72; in Delaware, 75.
Missionary Ridge, battle of, 535.
Mississippi, territory created, 344; population, 1820, 345; new Black Code in, 602; Governor Humphreys removed, 623; readmitted, 625; republicans overthrown, 632; the "Mississippi plan," 632.
Mississippi river, as a means of transportation, 2; explored by French, 114; opened north and south, 529; opened at Vicksburg, 532.
Mississippi *v.* Johnson, case of, 612.
Missouri, territory created, 345; development of, 371; asks for statehood, 371; compromise, 373; constitution of, 374; interest in Nebraska, 486; attempt to settle Kansas, 489; struggle for union in, 517, 526, 541–542.
Missouri Compromise, adopted, 371–374.
Mobile, desire to annex, 321; occupied, 332.
Mobile Act, 300.
Mobile Bay, defenses taken, 571.
Mohawk river and transportation system, 3.
Mohawks, 113.
"Molasses Act," 144; renewed, 163.
Molino del Rey, battle at, 450.
Monck's Corners, 211.
Money, continental, 223; paper, after the revolution, 236. *See* Paper money.
Monhegan, 61.
Monitor, contest with the *Virginia*, 546, 570.

Monmouth, battle of, 200.
Monocacy, battle of, 565.
Monroe, James, mission to France, 1794, 277; his blow at Hamilton, 278; and the purchase of Louisiana, 299; and Randolph, 302, 303; makes treaty, 310; secretary of state, 317, 330; elected president, 366; cabinet, 367; and Spanish-American states, 367; and parties, 368; reëlected, 368; and internal improvements, 395.
Monroe Doctrine, origin of, 374; England's relation to, 375; Adams's part, 375; Russia's relation to, 375; announced, 377; new meaning in Venezuelan incident, 778–781; and the Venezuelan incident, 778–779, 780–781, 826; Roosevelt on, 827; and our Caribbean policy, 863.
Montana, settled, 678; a territory and state, 678, 680, 748.
Montcalm, Marquis de, takes Fort William Henry, 125; impeded in Canada, 126; defense of Quebec, 127; death, 127.
Monterey, taken by Taylor, 447.
Monterey, the, at Manila, 792.
Montgomery, Colonel, against the Cherokees, 130.
Montgomery, Richard, in Canada, 184.
Montgomery, Ala., confederacy organized at, 511.
Montreal, site discovered, 36; attempt to take, 116; taken by British, 128; position of, 321; expedition against, 322.
Moravians, settlements of, 147.
Morgan, General, at Cowpens, 208; pursued by Tarleton, 209; retreat of, 209.
Morgan, J. P., system of banks, 740; and bond sales under Cleveland, 756–757.
Morgan, William, against masonry, 403.
Morgan, Fort, taken, 571.
Morris, Gouverneur, and union, 223; minister to England, 262; minister to France, 277.
Morris, Robert, superintendent of finances, 228.
Morris, Captain, in Tripolitan war, 295.
Morrow, Dwight W., Ambassador to Mexico, 929.
Morse, invents telegraph, 465.
Morton, L. P., vice-president, 722.
Morton, O. P., influence at Washington, 633; and renomination of Grant, 653.
Motley, J. L., recall of, 645.
Moultrie, Col., defends Charleston, 183.
"Mound Builders," the, 12.
Mounds, 12.
"Mulligan Letters," 717.
Munitions, sale of, to belligerents, 874.
Murfreesboro, Buel, at, 529; battle of, 530.
Murray, suggests treaty with France, 282.

Napoleon, and Louisiana, 297; and Florida, 302; restrictions on American trade, 307–309; hoodwinks Madison, 316.
Narvaez, explorations of, 38.
Nashville Convention, 457.
Nashville, battle of, 539.
Nast, Thomas, in campaign of 1872, 649.
National Debt reduced, 911.
National Guard, 878, 883; naming the divisions of, 888.
National Monetary Commission. *See* Aldrich Commission.
National republicans, 403.
National silver party, 761.
Native American movement, 462.
Naturalization, law of 1795, 283; law of 1798, 283; law of 1802, 283.
Natural resources, 4–11; preservation of, 849–850.
Nature, influence of, 1.
Naval limitations, 920; programme, 919.
Navigation Acts, ordinance of 1651, 78; later acts, 81; in practice, 143; evaded, 144; to be enforced, 163; and the revolution, 163; and Massachusetts, 170; bearing on post-revolutionary trade, 226; receding, 416.
Navy, in the revolution, 204–206; against France, 279, 281; seize French ships, 281; department of, created, 281; Jefferson, and, 293; in war with Tripoli, 295; war party favors, 319; condition of in 1812, 320, 326; naval warfare, 326–329; new ships, 327, 328; after war of 1812, 363; federal, in the civil war, 569–571; at New Orleans, 529; liberal appropriations under Harrison, 727; state of, 1915, 879; in world war, 896; the destroyers at Queenstown, 896; convoying service, 897; squadron in the Allied Grand Fleet, 897; submarine mine barrage in North Sea, 897.
Nebraska, demand for a territory of, 486.
Necessity, Fort, 122.
Neesima, J. H., work in Japan, 775.
Negroes. *See* Freedmen, 601.
Negro troops, 573; as prisoners, 573–574.
Neutrality, proclamation, 266; efforts to preserve, 873–877; the president's proclamations, 873; violated by Germany, 873.
Nevada, settled, 677; state and territory, 677, 680.
New Amsterdam. *See* New York.
Newburg address, the, 223.

New England, council of, 61, 62; and New Hampshire, 70; the town, 134; life in, 137; trade in, 142, 163; religion in, 148, 150; education, 153; local government in, 156; privateers, 205; British sympathy in, 331, 335–338; ignored by agricultural states, 335; hopes from Canada, 335; migration westward, 341; rise of manufactures, 349; disestablishment in, 335; and the tariff, 385, 386–387.
New England confederation, origin of, 71; constitution of, 71; decay of, 71.
New France, condition of, 1628, 112; explored, 111; settled, 112; Jesuits in, 113; and Indian trade, 121; in the Ohio valley, 121.
New Haven, settled, 69; government of, 69; united with New Haven, 80.
New Hampshire, early history, 62, 70; falls to Massachusetts, 70; and the Dominion of New England, 94; and the revolution, 97; ratifies the constitution, 248.
New Jersey, created, 81, 85; East and West Jersey, 85; granted to Duke of York, 85; Quaker control, 85; and the Dominion of New England, 94; and the revolution, 97; campaign in, 191; tories in, 191; recovered, 192; ratifies the constitution, 247.
New London, taken by Arnold, 212.
New Mexico, attempt of Polk to purchase, 446; occupied by Kearney, 448; not made a territory, 453; made a territory, 455, 457; mining in, 678; territory and state, 680; statehood granted, 851.
New Netherland. *See* New York.
New Orleans, campaign of, 332–334; capture of, 529; Mafia riots at, 767.
Newport, Captain Christopher, in Virginia, 46, 48.
Newport, held by British, 192; siege of, 200.
Newspaper ownership, 842.
New York, explored and settled by Dutch, 72; patroon system, 73; disorders in, 73; Indian wars, 73; government, 74; English settlers on Long Island, 75; acquired by the English, 75; government, 83; conquered by Dutch, 84; struggle for an assembly, 84; and the Dominion of New England, 94; Leisler revolution, 96, 102; governor's salary, 102; contest for assembly, 103; money votes in, 103, 104; religion in, 152; mixed form of local government, 156; "Duke's Law," 157; stamp act congress, 167; resents quartering troops, 169; assembly suspended, 170; operations around, 188–191; attitude in constitutional convention, 244; ratifies the constitution, 249; and parties, 270; settlement of western, 341; constitutional reform in, 473; public schools in, 477.
New York, the, 800, 801.
New York Central system, development of, 733, 734.
Niagara, Fort, expedition against, 124; captured, 126; Indian treaty at, 132.
Nicaragua, canal through, 815, 816, 817; and Central American peace league, 866; United States protectorate over, 867; re-occupation of, 929.
Nicholson, Sir Francis, governor of New York, 95, 96.
Nicolls, Col. Richard, governor of New York, 75; takes New Amsterdam, 76; approves the "Duke's Laws," 83.
Nine-Power treaty, 921.
Nineteenth Division at St. Mihiel, 892.
Ninety-six, 210, 211.
Nomination, presidential, by convention, 404; significance of, 404. *See* Caucus.
Non-importation, 1765, 167; revived, 170; employed in 1774, 179; act of 1806, 309.
Non-slaveholders, 469.
Norfolk, burned, 186.
Norsemen, discoveries by, 234.
North and South, relative strength of, 518.
North, Lord, colonial policy of, 171; duty on tea, 173; offers compromise, 1778, 199; resigns, 214.
North Carolina, discovered by Spaniards, 31; colony at Roanoke Island, 42; settlement of, 82; name, 82, 83; evolution of, 106; Cary rebellion, 107; Indian wars, 107; sale to crown, 107; quitrents, 107; controversy over county representation, 135; trade, 143; race elements in, 146, 147; religion in, 151; resists stamp act, 168; Mecklenburg resolves, 180; loyalists in, 182; regulators, 183; battle of Moore's Creek, 183; authorizes independence, 186; against nullification, 410; Cornwallis in, 208–210; American retreat in, 209; ratifies the constitution, 249; and parties, 271; constitutional reform in, 474; "free schools" in, 477; federal operations in, 570; reconstructed by Johnson, 600; readmitted, 624; Holden and martial law, 631; republicans overthrown, 632.
North Dakota, a state, 748.
Northeast boundary adjusted, 437.
Northwest, conquered by Clark, 204.
Northwest Ordinance, the first, 232; the second, 233, 343.

Nova Scotia, ceded to England, 129.
Novus Mundus, 32.
Nullification, and the Virginia-Kentucky resolutions, 285–287; origin of, 385; Calhoun's "Exposition," 387; the theory, 388; and Hayne-Webster debate, 399; Georgia rejects, 400; attempt to execute, 407–410; ordinance of, 408; replevin act, 408; Jackson's proclamation, 409; suspended, 410; compromise tariff, 410.

Oberlin College, antislavery center, 429.
Ocean currents, influence of, 2.
Officers in the army, 883.
Oglethorpe, James, founds Georgia, 109; governor, 109–110.
Ohio, French posts in, taken, 125; settlement of, 232; territory of, 233; Indians at war, 262; lands opened to settlers, 263; settlement of, 342; territory organized, 342; population of, 343; admitted to union, 344.
Ohio Company, 232, 342.
"Ohio Idea," the, 642.
Ohio valley, French in, 121, 122.
Oil scandals, 922, 923, 924.
Okechobee Swamp, battle of, 467.
Oklahoma, 467.
"Old Hickory Division." *See* Thirtieth Division.
Olney, secretary, his Venezuelan dispatch, 778.
Olympia, the, at Manila, 791.
Omnibus Bill, 457.
Opechancanough, 52.
"Open door" in China, 920, 921.
Oquendo, the, 800, 801.
Orangeburg, 211.
Orders in Council, 308; repeal of, 319–320.
Oregon, explored by Lewis and Clark, 356; condition of, 1841, 440; joint occupancy, 440; a political issue, 440; immigration to, 441; adjustment of the question, 445; made a territory, 452; becomes a state, 463; disputed election returns of 1876, 655, 657; vote of in 1876, 696.
Oregon, the, around Cape Horn, 794; at Santiago, 800, 801.
Orient, American diplomacy in, 822–824.
Orinoco river, discovered, 30.
Oriskany, battle of, 196.
Osceola, 466.
Oswald, British peace commissioner, 214.
Otis, Harrison Gray, at Hartford convention, 337.
Otis, James, on American rights, 165; and stamp act, 167; elected speaker, 169; wounded, 172.
"Outlaw" shopmen's strike, 910.
Outrages, Southern, 606; effects of, 606, 625.

Pacific, diplomacy of the, 764; importance of, 764.
Pacific Coast, harbors on, 3; Indians of, 15.
Pacific Ocean, discovered, 37.
Pacific railroad, and the Kansas-Nebraska act, 486.
Pacific treaties, 920.
Pact of Paris, 931.
Paine, Thomas, "Common Sense," 186.
Pakenham, General, at New Orleans, 333.
Palo Alto, battle of, 447.
Panama, route adopted, 818; revolution in, 818–820; republic of, 820; canal treaty, 820; sanitation in, 821.
Panama congress, 383.
Panic of 1837, 432.
Panic of 1857, 482; political effect of, 499.
Panic of 1873, 666, 667.
Panic of 1893, 729, 739, 753.
Panic of 1903, 739, 831.
Paper money, in the colonies, 157; after the revolution, 236; in Rhode Island, 236; and the Shays's Rebellion, 236.
Paris, treaty of, 129.
Parker, Alton B., nominated for presidency, 832; at Baltimore convention, 846.
Parson's cause, 166.
Parties, Washington and, 269.
Patronage, influence of, 1828, 389; under Jackson, 393. *See* Civil Service Reform, and Appointments to Office.
Patroon system, 73.
Patterson, plan of, in constitutional convention, 244.
Pawtucket, 349.
Payne-Aldrich bill, 837; political effects of, 837–838.
Peace, efforts to preserve, Crittenden compromise, 513; senate peace committee, 513; peace congress, 514.
Peace movement, confederate, 588.
Peach Tree Creek, battle of, 537.
Peacock, the, 327.
Pea Ridge, battle of, 542.
Peace Conference. *See* Versailles, the Treaty of.
Peace suggestions, December 15, 1917, 897; Wilson's "Fourteen Points," 988.
Peirpoint, F. H., government at Alexandria, 520, 596, 601.
Pelican the, Drake's ship, 41.
Pell's Point, 190.
Pemberton, General, defense of Vicksburg, 531; surrenders, 532.

Pendleton, G. H., financial ideas, 642; and nomination of 1868, 642.
Pendelton act, 709.
Peninsular campaign, 545.
Penn, family, late history of, 106.
Penn, John, 106.
Penn, William, interested in West Jersey, 85; charter for Pennsylvania, 85; as a colonizer, 85–88; colony lost and restored, 88; grants "charter of privileges," 104.
Pennsylvania, charter, 85; settled, 86; government, 86, 87; Indians conciliated, 86; Penn in the colony, 86, 87; boundary controversy, 87, 97; political changes in, 104; new charter, 104; a militia organized, 105; Germans in, 146; Scotch-Irish in, 147; religion in, 152; university of, 154; education in, 154, 477; ratifies constitution, 247; the whisky insurrection, 267–269; parties in, 270; public schools in, 477.
Pennsylvania railroad, development of, 733, 734.
Pensacola, occupied, 332, 369.
Pensions, policy of, 726; Tanner and, 749; law of 1912, 851.
People's party, organized, 752.
Pepperell, William, takes Louisburg, 120.
Pequots, war with, 70.
Perry, Oliver H., victory on Lake Erie, 324.
Perryville, battle of, 529.
Pershing, General John J., 887; operations in Mexico, 870; places his army at disposal of Foch, 889; organizes an army, 891.
Petersburg, siege of, 564, 566.
Petitions, antislavery, 431.
Philadelphia, founded, 86; population, 142; culture of, 155; and tea duty, 175; occupied by the British, 194, 199; evacuated, 200; congress forced to flee, 224; seat of government at, 262.
Philadelphia, the, loss of, 293, 295, 296.
Philip, King, war against whites, 92.
Philippines, acquired by treaty of peace, 805, 806; under Spanish authority, 809; revolt of Aguinaldo, 809; government established, 810–812; assembly of, 812; population of, 811; tariff relations, 812; friar lands, 812. *See* Filipinos.
Phillips, Captain, 802.
Phillips, Wendell, Johnson's charges against, 605.
Phips, Governor, salary controversy, 101; fails against Quebec, 117.
Pickens, at Cowpens, 209; partisan leader, 207.
Pickens, Fort, relief of, 512.
Pickering, Judge, impeached, 294.
Pickering, Timothy, secretary of state, 271; and Monroe's mission, 277, 278; desires French war, 279; dismissed, 287; plots with Burr, 300; and Rose, 315; and New England discontent, 335–337.
Pickett's charge, 561–562.
Piedmont region of the South, 468.
Piegans, massacre of, 686.
Pierce, Franklin, elected president, 485; attitude toward Kansas, 490.
Pike, Zebulon, explorations of, 356.
Pike's Peak, named, 356.
Pilgrims, origin of, 59; in Leyden, 59; depart for America, 60.
Pillow, Fort, taken, 574; negro prisoners at, 574.
Pinchot, Gifford, controversy with Ballinger, 838.
Pinckney, C. C., plan in constitutional convention, 243; mission to France, 278–280; command in new army, 281.
Pinckney, Thomas, Hamilton's plan to elect, 273.
Pinckney, William, in England, 309; makes treaty, 310.
Pinzon, Vicente Yañez, 32.
Pitt, Fort, held against the Indians, 131.
Pitt, William, and the Seven Years' War, 124, 125, 129, 130; on stamp act, 168; illness, 169; pleads for colonies, 176.
Pitt, William, the younger, and American trade, 307.
Pittsburg, importance of, 3, 4; Fort Duquesne established, 122; efforts of English to take, 122–123.
Plain, the interior, 1.
Platt, T. C., resigns senatorship, 704; returns to senate, 704; for Blaine in 1884, 716; as leader, 723.
Platt amendment, the, 807; spirit of it applied to Caribbean states, 864; to Nicaragua, 867.
Plymouth, early history, 60–63; settlement of, 60; early suffering in, 60; government of, 61, 62; relation with Indians, 61; common stock, 61; religion of, 61; colony of, 60–63; charter and grant, 59, 61; conditions of settlement, 60, 61; expansion, 62; government, 61, 62; reorganized, 62.
Plymouth Colony and New England Confederation, 71; and the Dominion of New England, 94; joined with Massachusetts, 97.
Plymouth Company, created, 45, 46.
Pocahontas, 52.

Poland committee, the, 649.
Polk, James K., nominated, 442; elected, 443; his presidency, 445–452; and Oregon, 445; negotiations with Mexico, 446; war with Mexico, 446–450.
Polly, the, case of, 307.
Pomeroy Circular, 584.
Ponce de Leon, 38.
Pontiac, at war with the whites, 131.
Pope, General, commands in Virginia, 550; defeated at second Bull Run, 551–553; as a commander, 553.
Popular sovereignty, defined, 454; in 1854, 486, 488; in Lincoln-Douglas debate, 501.
Population, Virginia in 1616, 50; 1624, 51; Maryland in 1660, 58; Plymouth Colony, 62; Massachusetts, 64; Philadelphia, 86; of all the colonies, 1690, 100; in 1760, 101; of South Carolina, 108; of North Carolina, 108; of New France, 113; colonial in 1760, 136; slaves in 1769, 139; Boston, 142; Philadelphia, 142; New York, 142; Charleston, 142; Baltimore, 142; growth, 1790–1815, 341; of Ohio, 343; of the Northwest, 1820, 344; of Alabama and Mississippi, 1820, 345; of North and South, 1860, 461, 518; immigrants, 1860, 461; of slaves, 470; of Philippine Islands, 811.
Porter, FitzJohn, at second Bull Run, 552.
Porto Rico, taken by Americans, 801; and the Spanish treaty, 805, 806; civil government in, 814.
Port Royal, Acadia, captured, 117; taken by English, 118.
Port Royal, S. C., seized, 570.
Portsmouth, N. H., branch bank at, 411; treaty of, 824.
Portugal, African, explorations of, 25; American explorations, 34.
Postal Savings Banks, 839.
Potomac, smuggling on the, 241.
Potter, Bishop, on political ideals, 723.
Powderly, T. V., 741.
Powhatan, 48, 52.
Prairies, the soil, 7.
Preble, Captain, in Tripolitan war, 295.
Presbyterian Church, 354; divided by slavery, 472.
Presbyterians, in the colonies, 148; in Virginia, 151.
Presidency and a prime minister, 856.
President, constitutional status, 251, 258; war powers of, 585–586.
President, the, 295, 328; and *Little Belt*, 317.
"Prester John," 25.
Prevost in the South, 207.
Price, Sterling, in Missouri, 541, 542; in 'Arkansas, 541, 542.
Prices and panic of 1873, 667.
Prince Henry the Navigator, 25.
Princeton, battle of, 192.
Princeton College, founded, 154.
Privateers, in the revolution, 204; in the war of 1812, 328.
Progressive party, founded, 847, 926.
Prohibition, 904; difficulties, 934; Bureau of, created, 935; enforcement of, strengthened, 935; violations, 936.
Prophet, the, 318.
Proprietary colony, the, described, 81.
Protestant Episcopal Church, organized, 354; of the confederacy, 472.
Pueblo Indians, 13.
Pujo Committee, 741, 851.
Pulaski, arrival in America, 198.
Pullman strike, 743.
Pure food law, 833.
Puritanism, origin and belief, 63; apology for, 65; attitude toward Roger Williams, 65; weakening, 148.
Puritan Revolution and the Colonies, 77.
Putnam, Israel, at battle of Brooklyn, 189.

Quakers, 353; in Massachusetts, 67, 68; attitude toward oaths, 105; toward military service, 105; in North Carolina, 107; in Virginia, 151.
Quay, M. S., as a leader, 723.
Quebec, site discovered, 36; founded, 112; attempt to take, 1690, 116; Sir Hovenden Walker's failure against, 118; taken by Wolfe, 127; held by Murray, 128; besieged by Montgomery and Arnold, 183.
"Quebec Act," 177.
Queen Anne's war, 118–119.
Queenstown, attacked, 323.
Queseda, Cuban leader, 782, 784.

Race, elements in colonies, 145–148.
Radicals, principles of, 597; Wade-Davis bill, 598; Stanton and, 600; efforts against Johnson, 605; and civil rights bill, 606; and fourteenth amendment, 607; in control of congress, 608; and tenure-of-office act, 611.
Railroads, early development, 464; construction after the war, 665; transcontinental, 680; Union Pacific, 680; Central Pacific, 680; Northern Pacific, 681; Atlantic and Pacific, 681; Santa Fe, 682; Southern Pacific, 682; Great Northern, 682; Constructing the Pacific roads,

682; land grants abused, 682; combinations of, 732–735; in England, 732; combining lines, 733; attempts at coöperation, 734; "Granger laws," 734; railroads and interstate commerce act, 735; as a political issue, 735; the Wabash case, 735; Hepburn rate bill, 833; Rayburn Bill to regulate securities of, 862; under government operation, 885.
Railway and shipping legislation, 910.
Railways restored, 909.
"Rainbow Division." *See* Forty-Second Division.
Rainfall, 2.
Raisin, the, the massacre at, 323.
"Raleigh, Citie of," 43.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, and colonization, 42–44.
Rall, Colonel, 192.
Rambouillet Decree, 316.
Randall, S. J., and the tariff, 714, 715, 721.
Randolph, Edmund, in constitutional convention, 243; attorney-general, 257; supports Jefferson, 261; secretary of state, 271.
Randolph, Edward, and navigation acts, 93; hostile to the charters, 93, 94; influence on the new charter, 97.
Randolph, John, at impeachment of Chase, 294; opposed to Jefferson, 301; opposed to Yazoo men, 301, 302; shorn of his strength, 302, 303; supports Monroe, 302.
Rawdon, Lord, at Camden, 207; at Hobkirk's Hill, 210; in Charleston, 211.
Rayburn Bill, 862.
Reciprocity, Blaine secures, 725; McKinley on, 829; Canadian, 841, 842.
Reconstruction, question comes up in congress, 585; two kinds, 594; theories of *status*, 595; Lincoln's plan, 596–599; Wade-Davis bill, 597–598; attitude of South, 1865, 601, 602, 619; committee on, 605; freedmen's bureau bill, 605; civil rights bill, 606; the radical program, 609–611; acts of 1867, 609–611 acts enforced in the South, 622–625.
Redemptioners, 146.
Red river expedition, 542.
Redfield, William C., secretary of commerce, 854.
Reed, Thomas B., on the tariff of 1883, 715; as leader, 723; speaker, 724; breaks down obstruction, 724.
Registration, Southern, 623.
Regulators, in North Carolina, 183.
Reid, Whitelaw, nominated for vice-presidency, 749.
Religion, in Virginia, 46; in Maryland, 53; Maryland Toleration Act, 57; and the franchise in Massachusetts, 65; persecutions in Massachusetts, 65–68; persecution in New Netherland, 74; in the colonies, 148–152; work of the churches, 148; in New England, 148; Witchcraft, 149; "Halfway Covenant," 150; the "Great Awakening," 150; freedom in Rhode Island, 151; Anglican Church, in New England, 148; in the South, 151; British Toleration Act, 152; treatment of Catholics, 152; "Saybrook Platform," 153; churches and education, 154; established churches, 352; Methodists, 353; Baptists, 353; other churches, 354; Protestant Episcopal Church, 354; Congregationalists, 354; Unitarian movement, 355; disestablishment in New England, 355.
Republicanism, inherent, 218, 228.
Republican party, relations with Genêt, 266; formation of, 270; in election of 1800, 288–290; principles, 288, 291–292; dissensions in, 300–303.
Republican party, the second, origin, 494; Seward joins, 494; in Massachusetts, 495; Frémont nominated, 495; gain in 1858, 502; successful in 1860, 508; in the civil war, 581; in 1862, 582; moderate party of Johnson, 604; organized in the South, 621–622; loses the South, 630–633; in Georgia, 631; in North Carolina, 631; in Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas, 632; in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, 632; loses the South, in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, 633; repressive policy under Grant, 633–634; situation of, after the war, 640; in the elections of 1866, 640.
Resaca de la Palma, battle of, 447.
Resumption of specie payment, act for, 669; achievement of, 699.
Revere, Paul, 180.
Revolution, colonial assemblies and parties, 100, 101; causes of, 161; principles underlying, 161; Bute's policy, 161; King's veto and, 162; navigation acts and, 163; Grenville's policy, 162–164; growing irritation, 169–170; Townshend Acts, 169–170; causes summarized, 173; attitude of three groups, 174; first continental congress, 178; declaration of independence, 186–188; indifference of people, 192; army of the patriots, 193; French alliance, 198; compromise offered, 199; war ended, 213; treaty of peace, 214–216.

Reynolds, General, at Gettysburg, 560; death of, 560.
Rheims, German attempt to surround in 1918, 891.
Rhode Island, founded, 66, 68; charter, 68; settled, 68; and New England confederation, 71; new charter, 80; and the Dominion of New England, 94; and the revolution of 1688, 97; religious freedom in, 151; and paper money, 158; paper-money commotions, 236; "Know Ye" men, 236; ratifies the constitution, 249; constitutional reform in, 474–476.
Riall, General, death of, 325.
Ribaut, explores Florida, 111.
Rice, a staple crop, 8; trade in, 142, 143.
Richmond, capitol of confederacy, 519; advance on, 519; captured, 566.
Rifles, supply of, for army, 883.
Right of deposit, at New Orleans, 297.
Rivers, as means of transportation, 3. *See* Transportation.
Roads, colonial, 134. *See* Internal Improvements.
Roanoke Island, settlement on, 42; significance of, 43; taken by Burnside, 570.
Robertson, James, settles in Tennessee, 234.
Robinson, Dr. Charles, in Kansas, 489.
Robinson, Rev. John, at Scrooby, 59; at Leyden, 59, 60.
Rochambeau, against Cornwallis, 212.
Rockefeller, John D., and the organization of the oil trust, 736–739; group of banks, 740.
Rockingham, ministry of, 169, 214.
Rocky Mountains, influence of, 1.
Rodgers, Captain John, 317, 327.
Rodman, Admiral Hugh, 897.
Roman Catholics, early settlers in Maryland, 54; Jesuits in Maryland, 55; treatment of, 152, 354.
Roosevelt, Franklin D., nominated for vice-presidency, 903.
Roosevelt, Theodore, as civil service commissioner, 710; in campaign of 1884, 718; and Rough Riders, 795; and the Panama revolution, 819; elected vice-president, 827; and McKinley, 829; first message, 829; his policy on trusts, 830; appeals to the people, 830; and the coal strike, 830; control of corporations, 831; elected president, 832; relations with the senate, 833; public opinion for, 834; return from Africa, 840; in New York politics, 840; becomes candidate in 1912, 843–844; at Chicago convention, 845; nominated by the progressive party, 847; shot by fanatic, 848; defeated, 848; his relation to Wilson's policies, 854; his expansion of the Monroe Doctrine, 863; and Santo Domingo, 865; and Panama, 866; efforts to establish peace in Central America, 866; proposed division to be raised by, 886.
Root, Elihu, suggests amendments to League covenant, 901.
Rose, George, mission to America, 315, 335.
Rosecrans, General, at battle of Stone's river, 530; campaign around Chattanooga, 532–534; at battle of Chickamauga, 533; removed from command, 534.
Ross, General, attacks Washington, 329; attacks Baltimore, 330.
Rough Riders, 795; at Santiago, 796, 798.
"Round Robin," at Santiago, 803.
Rule of war of 1756, 307.
Rum, manufacture of, 141.
"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," 719.
Rush, Richard, supported for vice-president, 390.
Russell, Jonathan, commissioner at Ghent, 334.
Russian Revolution, effect on our relation to the war, 882.
Russia, efforts of Czar to make peace, 333–334; and the Monroe Doctrine, 375; sells Alaska, 643; United States troops in, 895.
Ryswick, treaty of, 117.

Sabine Cross Roads, 542.
Sacs and Foxes, driven westward, 465.
Sagasta, offers reform in Cuba, 787; yields on armistice, 789.
St. Augustine, founded, 111.
St. Clair, defeat of, 262; governor of Ohio, 342.
St. Lawrence river, as a means of transportation, 2; explored by Cartier, 36.
St. Leger, General, 193; defeated, 196.
St. Louis, founded, 115; desires transcontinental railroad, 681.
St. Louis strike, 1886, 742.
St. Marks, attacked by Jackson, 369.
St. Mary's, Maryland, settled, 54.
St. Mihiel, capture of, 892.
St. Thomas, Island of, 866.
Salary Grab act, 650.
Salvador and Central American peace league, 866.
Salem, settled, 63; witchcraft trials, 149.
Salisbury, Lord, on Venezuela, 779.
Samoa, value of, 765; conflicting interests in, 765; storm in, 766; divided, 766.
Sampson, W. T., off north shore of Cuba,

793; at battle of Santiago, 801; and controversy with Schley, 804.
Sanborn Contracts, the, 651.
Sandys, Sir Edwin, and Virginia, 50, 51.
San Jacinto, battle of, 421.
San Juan Hill, 796, 797; carried, 798.
Santa Anna, opposed to Texas, 421.
Santiago, Cervera at, 793; blockaded, 794, 795; army at, 796–799; defenses of, 794; battle of, 797; surrender of, 799.
Santo Domingo, Napoleon's attempt to conquer, 298; annexation of, 645; treaty for annexation, 671; and foreign debts, 827; financial protectorate over, 864.
Saratoga, surrender at, 197; convention at, repudiated, 197.
Savage's Station, battle of, 549.
Savannah, taken by British, 207; taken from the British, 211; entered by Sherman, 539.
Saybrook, settled, 69.
Saybrook platform, 153.
Scalawags, 621.
Schenectady, taken by French, 116.
Schley, W. S., on south shore of Cuba, 793, 794; at battle of Santiago, 801; controversy, 804.
Schofield, General, at battle of Franklin, 538; reënforces Sherman at Goldsboro, 541; secretary of war, 616.
Schomburgk line, 777.
Schools, public, growth of, 476–478; in New England, 476; work of Horace Mann, 477; in Middle States, 477; in the South, 477; in the West, 478.
Schurman, President, in the Philippines, 810.
Schurz, Carl, liberal attitude toward South, 633; an independent, 693; and civil service reform, 707; in campaign of 1884, 718; as leader, 723.
Schuyler, Fort, siege of, 196.
Schuyler, General, against Burgoyne, 196.
Scioto Company, 342.
Scituate, 62.
Scotch-Irish, settled in the colonies, 147.
Scott, Thomas A., as a railroad builder, 733.
Scott, Winfield, at Chippewa, 325; at Lundy's Lane, 325; Mexican campaign, 448–450; nominated for presidency, 485.
Scrooby, 59.
Seabury, Rev. Samuel, made bishop, 353.
Secession, suggested in 1798, 285; and Hartford Convention, 336; threaten in 1849, 453; Nashville Convention, 457; Davis resolutions, 1860, 505; Yancey's Charleston speech, 506; South Carolina Acts, 511; other states, 511, 517.
Second Division, arrives in France, 886; goes into line of defenses, 888; at Château-Thierry, 889–891; in operations of July 18, 1918, 891; at St. Mihiel, 892.
Sedgwick, General, at Chancellorsville, 557, 558.
Sedition Law, passed, 284; execution of, 284; Jefferson's way of meeting, 285.
Seminary Ridge, 560.
Seminole war, 368–369; under Jackson, 467–468.
Senate, opposed to Roosevelt, 833; popular disapproval of, 834.
Senators, popular election of, 851.
Serapis, 205.
Servants, indented, demand for, 137; kidnapping, 137; voluntary servants, 138; convicts, 138; vagabonds, 138; condition of, 138.
Seven Pines, battle of, 548.
"Seven Sisters," the, 855.
Seven years' war, 124–130.
Sevier, John, 234.
Seward, W. H., Northern leader, 488; joins the republicans, 494; and republican nomination, 495, 507; Lamar on, 507; not nominated, 508; and peace with the South, 514; and the confederate agents, 515; Lincoln overrules, 516; wounded, 568, 600; and reconstruction, 600; forces French out of Mexico, 643; and purchase of Alaska, 643.
Sewing machine, invented, 465.
Seymour, Horatio, nominated, 1868, 642.
Shafter, General, at Santiago, 796; his plan of battle, 797; as a commander, 804.
Shannon, the, 327.
Shaw, Robert G., killed, 570, 573.
Shays's rebellion, 236.
Shelburne, ministry of, 214.
Shenandoah valley, Jackson in, 547; Early in, 565; Sheridan in, 565.
Sheridan, General, in the valley campaign, 565–566; as military governor, 623; and the Indians, 686, 687.
Sherman, J. S., nominated for vice-president, 835.
Sherman, John, as financier, 662; secretary of the treasury, 694; on Hayes's Southern policy, 695; achieves resumption, 699; candidate for nomination, 1884, 716; as leader, 723.
Sherman, Roger, 187.
Sherman, W. T., first move against Vicksburg, 530; at Chattanooga, 534, 535; advance toward Atlanta, 535–539; takes Atlanta, 537; march to the sea, 538, 539; march on Savannah, 539; devastation

unnecessary, 539–540; in the Carolinas, 540; halt at Goldsboro, 541; comes to aid of Grant, 548; receives Johnston's surrender, 568.
Sherman anti-trust law, 740.
Sherman silver law, passed, 747; in operation, 754; repealed, 755; the West aroused, 755.
Shiloh, battle of, 528.
Shipping, condition of, 1783–1815, 347; history of, during world war, 885; legislation, 910; Board, 1920, 911.
Shirley, Governor, and Louisburg, 120; expedition against Fort Niagara, 124; and removal of Acadians, 124.
Siberia, United States troops in, 895.
Siboney, landing at, 796.
Sigsbee, Captain, on *Maine* disaster, 788.
Silver, deposits of, 11; free, origin of movement, 698; the Bland-Allison bill, 699; use of small silver notes, 746; silver forced out, 746; silver sentiment, 747; Sherman silver law, 747, 754; Cleveland on, 750; maintaining parity, 754, 755–757; Sherman law repealed, 755; "endless chain," the, 755–756; organize in West and South, 758; control democratic convention, 758; issue in 1896, 762.
Silver mining, 677–678.
Sims, Admiral W. S., 896.
Sinclair, and Oil Scandals, 924.
Sinking fund, established, 260.
Sioux wars, 1866–1868, 685, 687–689; commission to Sioux, 688.
Sitting Bull, in the Sioux war, 687–689.
Slater, Samuel, and cotton mills, 349.
Slaughter-house cases, 636.
Slavery, Indian, 30; in first Northwestern ordinance, 232; in second ordinance, 233; excluded from the Northwest, 344; relation to cotton, 346; abolished in the North, 350; emancipation in the South, 351; method of abolishing, 350; early congressional position, 351; first fugitive slave law, 351; restricted in the West, 351; revived importations, 352; law of 1807, 352; smuggling, 352; and the West, 371; fixed in South, 428; effect of agitation on South, 430; revised black code, 430; new fugitive slave law, 455, 457; as a Southern institution, 468–470; disappearance in the North, 469; numbers of slaves, 470; treatment of slaves, 470; growth of pro-slavery, 471; divides the churches, 471–472; fugitive slaves not returned, 486; the Kansas-Nebraska act, 486–488; new leaders, 488; attitude of pro-slavery men, 493, 505, 506. *See* Emancipation.
Slaves, in the Carolinas, 108; excluded from Georgia, 110; condition in colonies, 138–140; introduced, 138; Spanish type of slavery, 139; colonial slave code, 139; trade in, 144; carried away by British, 216; three fifths in apportionment, 246; importation before 1808, 246; fugitives, as "contrabands," 577. *See* Slavery.
Slave-trade, 144; beginning of, 41.
"Sleepy Hollow," 202.
Slidell, Mexican mission, 446; seized on the *Trent*, 522.
Sloat, Commodore, in California, 449.
Sloughter, Henry, governor of New York, 103.
Smith, Governor, nominated, 937.
Smith, Captain John, sails for Virginia, 46; services, 48; relations with the Indians, 48, 52.
Smith, Kirby, at Bull Run, 520; in Arkansas, 542; surrenders, 569.
Smith, Robert, secretary of navy, 292.
Smuggling, 144; liquor, 935.
Smythe, General, 323.
"Snap Convention," in New York, 750.
Social classes, 135, 136–137.
Social conditions, in Virginia, 49.
Soils, character of, 6; in New England, 6; in the South, 7; in the West, 7.
Soldier's bonus, 913.
Somers, Lieutenant, at Tripoli, 296.
Sons of Liberty, formed, 166; decline, 169.
Soto, Hernando de, 38.
South, the, county in, 135; life in, 137; trade in, 142; religion, 151; her interests in the constitutional convention, 246; retains slavery, 350–351; social classes in, 468; slaveholders in 1860, 469; non-slaveholders, 469; growth of pro-slavery, 471; *see* Slavery; public schools in, 477; position on Kansas, 1856, 493; effect of John Brown on, 504; attitude on reconstruction, 1865, 601, 619; accepts emancipation, 601, 619; economic ruin, 619; social reversal, 620; in despair, 620; parties forming, 620–621; "Conservative" party, 621; a republican party forms, 621, 622; congressional reconstruction in operation, 622–625; was it lawless? 623; registration of voters, 623; military governors, 623; registration under reconstruction acts, 623; constitutional conventions, 624; constitutions ratified, 624; why radical reconstruction failed, 626; Ku Klux Klan, 627–630; influence in congress, 1913, 853.

South American states, recognition of, 367, 374.
Southampton, Earl of, and Virginia, 51.
South Carolina, misrule in, 106; Indian war, 107; overthrow of proprietors, 108; beats off attack by Spain, 119; trade, 142, 143; religion in, 151; and stamp act, 168; attack of British at Charleston, 183; overrun by British, 207; aid given at King's Mountain, 208; ratifies the constitution, 248; and nullification, 387, 396, 399; not supported by Georgia, 400; federal operations in, 570; readmitted, 624; republicans overthrown, 633; disputed returns in 1876, 655, 657; surrendered to democrats, 657.
South Dakota, a state, 748.
Southern rams, 569.
South Improvement Co., 736.
Southwest, the, growth of, 341, 344.
Soviets, non-recognition of, 909.
Spain, explorations of, in the interior, 37–39; as a colonizing nation, 39; in the seven years' war, 128; aids the American revolution, 198, 199; refuses aid to America, 214; and treaty of 1783, 214; intrigues in Southwest, 263; secret boundary clause, 215, 264; and Southern Indians, 265; treaty of 1795, 265; and the purchase of Louisiana, 299, 300; and Burr, 304; and war of 1812, 321, 331; negotiations for Florida, 368; protests against Jackson, 369; and American neutrality, in Cuba, 782, 785; the *Virginius*, 783; and neglected Cuban reforms, 784; Cleveland's attitude, 785, 786; Sagasta's reforms, 787; the *Maine*, 787, 788; Cuban armistice demanded, 789; war declared on, 789; peace with, 805–806; and Cuban debt, 805.
Spanish war, 782–807.
Speaker, power under Reed, 724; power reduced, 838; election of 1859, 504.
Specie circular, issued, 425; and panic of 1837, 432.
Sphericity of the earth, belief in, 26.
Spoils system, 393.
Spottsylvania, battle of, 563.
Spring, Dr. Gardiner, 412.
Springfield, settled, 69.
Squanto, 61.
Squatter sovereignty. *See* Popular Sovereignty.
"Stalwarts," 695.
Stamp act, proposed, 164; passed, 166; effects in America, 166; Patrick Henry's resolutions, 166; congress at New York, 167; repealed, 168; effect of repeal, 168.
Stanbery, Henry, opinion of, on Johnson's powers, 612; defends Johnson, 615.
Standard Oil Company, history of, 736–739; fined by courts, 836; suit to dissolve, 840, 842.
Standish, Miles, 61.
Stanton, in Johnson's cabinet, 601; favors the radicals, 601; and tenure-of-office act, 611; suspended, 614; removed, 614; resigns, 617.
Stanwix, Fort. *See* Fort Schuyler.
Star of the West, 512.
Star route frauds, 704.
Stark, John, battle of Bennington, 195.
State governments; formed by advice of congress, 187, 235; varying features, 217; suffrage, 217; sovereignty in, 218; two schools of citizens, 219; powers under the articles, 239; reform of, 472–476.
State rights, and nullification, 387–388; in 1828, 389; party formed, 396.
States, sovereignty of, 218; loyalty to, 230; large and small, controversy between, 243–245; limited by constitution, 253; authority limited by Marshall, 358–360; Southern, *status* of in reconstruction, 595; reconstructed under Johnson, 600, 601.
State universities, development of, 479.
Steamboats on the interior rivers, 464; cross the Atlantic, 464.
Stephens, A. H., confederate vice-president, 511.
Stephens, U. S., founds Knights of Labor, 741.
Steuben, Baron von, his services, 198.
Stevens, Thaddeus, leader of radicals, 604; power in congress, 604, 607, 608; prosecutes Johnson, 615; death of, 625.
Stewart, A. T., nominated secretary of the treasury, 644.
Stillwater. *See* Freeman's Farm.
Stinson, H. L., candidate for governorship, 840; mission to Nicaragua, 930.
Stone's river, battle of, 530.
Stonewall, the confederate ram, 589.
Stony Point, 201.
Strasburg, Va., Jackson at, 547.
Strong, Caleb, at Hartford convention, 336.
Strong, William, appointment as judge, 664.
Stuart, J. E. B., at capture of John Brown, 503; as cavalry leader, 559.
Stuyvesant, Peter, as governor, 74; religious persecutions, 74; takes Swedish settlements, 75; loses New Amsterdam, 75.
Submarines, the use of, in war, 875; ruthless warfare of, adopted by Germany, 881.

Suffrage, in early state governments, 217, 228; grows liberal, 472–474; negro, in fourteenth amendment, 607; in the reconstruction acts, 609–611; Lincoln on, 597, 622; Johnson, 622; in Southern constitutions, 624.
Sugar, and Wilson-Gorman bill, 728.
Sullivan, General, at Newport, 201.
Sumner, Charles, speech on Kansas, 490; attacked by Brooks, 490; a radical, 605; and fourteenth amendment, 607, 608; and civil rights act, 1875, 634; death of, 1874, 635; Lamar on, 635; Grant's quarrel with, 645; states case against England, 671; and civil service reform, 707.
Sumner, General, at Fredericksburg, 556.
Sumter, Fort, relief of, 512, 515; attacked, 516.
Sumter, partisan leader, 207; under Greene, 210.
Supplies for the army, 883; services of supply, 887.
Supreme Court, the, functions of, 252, 357–360; in reconstruction days, 611; interprets war amendments, 635–638.
Surplus, the, 714; lowered by hard times, 715; revived, 715; removed through expenditure, 725.
Surplus revenue, distribution, 424; effects of distribution, 432.
Surplus shipping, problem of, 911.
Sussex, destruction of the, 877.
Sutro tunnel, 677.
Sweden, settlements in America, 75.
Swiss, settlers, 146, 147.
Symmes, land grant of, 342.
Syracuse, convention at, 1855, 495.

Taft, W. H., in the Philippines, 811, 812; restoring order in Cuba, 807; nominated for presidency, 835; elected, 836; administration of, 837–843; and Payne-Aldrich tariff, 837; Ballinger, 838; and Canadian reciprocity, 841; candidate for renomination, 843–844; republican nominee, 845; elected, 848; legislation under, 849–850; suggests amendments to the League covenant, 901; made chief justice, 908.
Talleyrand, and American claims, 280; accepts treaty, 282; and Louisiana, 297–299; and Florida, 302.
Tammany, and Tilden, 653, 702; and Cleveland, 716, 720.
Tampico, landing party arrested at, 869.
Taney, R. B., secretary of the treasury, 414; removes deposits, 414; Chief Justice, 415; decision in Dred Scott case, 498.
Tanner, "Corporal," and pensions, 726, 749.
Tariff, bill of 1816, 364; growing demand for, 384–386; bill of 1820, 385; bill of 1824, 385; bill of 1828, 386; a sectional question, 384–385; South Carolina and, 387–388; Verplanck bill, 409; compromise bill, 1833, 410; of 1842, 436; campaign issue, 1844, 443; of 1846, 445; Morrill act, 483; in McCulloch's time, 661; Wool and Woolens act, 661, 713; tariff of 1870, 663, 713; two methods of reform, 712; tariff of 1872, 713; tariff of 1875, 713; commission of 1882, 714; tariff of 1883, 715; Morrison bill, 715; reform under Cleveland, 721; Mills bill, 721; issue in 1888, 721–722; McKinley bill, 724–726; Wilson bill, 728; Wilson-Gorman bill, 729; Dingley bill, 729; the McKinley and Sherman silver law, 747; an issue in 1896, 762; with Philippines, 812; and the dependencies, 813, 814; McKinley's later policy on, 829; Payne-Aldrich, 837; Canadian reciprocity, 841; democratic bills of 1911, 841; democratic bills of 1912, 842; the Underwood, 856–858; the lobby investigated, 857.
Tariff Commission of 1913, 857.
Tarleton, in the South, 207; at Cowpens, 208; in Virginia, 211.
Tax revision, 911.
Taxation, power of congress over, 359.
Taxes, external and internal, 165, 170.
Taylor, "Dick," commands in Arkansas, 542; surrenders, 569.
Taylor, Zachary, campaign on the Rio Grande, 446–448; nominated for presidency, 451; elected, 452; death of, 458; against the Seminoles, 467.
Tea, duty on, 173; sent to America, 175; action of colonies, 175; "Tea party," 176.
Teapot Dome, 924.
Tecumseh, his ambition, 318; slain at battle of the Thames, 323.
Telegraph invented, 465.
Teller, Senator, and silver, 755; leaves republican party, 761.
Temperance movement, 480.
Tennessee, settled, 232, 234; a state, 264; reconstructed under Lincoln, 597; readmitted, 609; republicans overthrown, 632.
Tennessee, the, 571.
Tenure-of-office act, passed, 611; tested by Johnson, 614.
Territories, government of, 233.
Terry, General, against the Sioux, 687.
Texas, explored by Pike, 356; early history, 419; not to be purchased, 420; revolution in, 420; annexation, 421, 438, 440,

444; opposition of Adams, 421; recognition extended, 422; England's alleged scheme, 438; a state in the union, 444; disputed boundary, 446; boundaries fixed, 450; debt assumed, 455, 457; readmitted, 625; republicans overthrown, 632.
Texas, the, 800, 801, 802.
Thames, battle of, 323.
Thanksgiving Day, 62.
Third Division, arrives near Château-Thierry, 889.
Thirtieth Division, 892; carries the St. Quentin tunnel, 894; at Brancourt, 895; at the Selle River, 895.
Thirty-Second Division, in Marne salient, 891.
Thomas, General, succeeds Rosecrans, 534; in battle of Missionary Ridge, 535; defense of Nashville, 538.
Thomas, Lorenzo, secretary of war, 614.
Thornton, Colonel, at New Orleans, 333.
Thoroughfare Gap, 551, 552.
Thrasher, Leon, 876.
Ticonderoga, attacked unsuccessfully, 126; taken, 127; taken by Ethan Allen, 182; not taken by Carleton, 195; taken by Burgoyne, 195.
Tilden, S. J., governor of New York, 651; nominated for presidency, 653; disputed returns, 654; loses the election, 657; and the independents, 694; in the investigation of the election, 696; not nominated in 1880, 702.
Tillman, B. R., speech in Chicago convention, 1896, 759; and the South and West, 759, 762.
Tobacco, a staple crop, 8; in Virginia, 50; at the restoration, 80, 81; decline of price, 89.
Tohopeka, battle of, 332.
Tompkins, D.D., vice-president, 367.
Tonti, 114.
Topeka constitution, 489, 490.
Tories, as a class, 174, 193; in North Carolina, 182, 208; in Philadelphia, 199; at King's Mountain, 208; compensation to, 216, 227; why disliked, 230; hardships of, 231; in New York, 231; compensation not made, 262.
Toscanelli, letter of, 28.
Toussaint Louverture, 298.
Towns, planted, 134; government, 156; in New York, 156; development of, 463.
Townshend, colonial policy of, 169; his acts, 169, 173; death, 171; repeal of Townshend acts, 173.
Townships, established, 233, 342.
Trade, colonial, 142–145; state of, 1783–1789, 226; England refuses to open, 226; congress to have control, 246; England refuses concessions, 262; restrictions on neutral, 272; and the Jay treaty, 272; the carrying, under Jefferson, 306; British restrictions on, 306–309; condition of, 1783–1815, 346; West India, 415–417. *See* Navigation Acts.
Transportation, rivers and lakes, 2.
Treason, defined, 253.
Treasurer, in New York, 104.
Treaty, with France, 198; with England, 214–216; with Spain, 1795, 265; Jay's, 272–273; with France, 1800, 282; San Ildefonso, 297; Louisiana purchase, 298; of Monroe and Pinckney, 310; Erskine's, 316; of Fort Jackson, 332, 368; of Ghent, 334, 368; with France, 417; Webster-Ashburton, 437; Guadaloupe Hidalgo, 450; Clayton-Bulwer, 458; of Washington, 672; of Fort Laramie, 684; with Hawaii, 772, 774; Burlingame, 774; with Japan, 776; of Paris, 1898, 805; Hay-Pauncefote, 817; Hay-Herran (convention), 818; Hay-Bunau-Varilla, 820; of Portsmouth, 824.
Treaty of 1783, execution delayed, 261, 272, 273.
Trent, the, affair of, 522; negotiations about, 523.
Trenton, battle of, 192.
Tripoli, war with, 295.
Trist, N. P., and treaty with Mexico, 450.
"Truly Loyal," the, 621.
Trumbull, Lyman, leader of moderates, 605; vote on Johnson impeachment, 617; attitude toward South, 633.
Trusts, causes producing, 736; the Standard Oil Co., 736–739; and stock speculation, 739; opposition to, 739; anti-trust law, 740; a "money trust," 740; laws relating to, in Wilson's administration, 860–863; Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 862.
Truxtun, Captain, 281.
Tryon, at New York, 188; raid in Connecticut, 201.
Tunis, at war, 295, 296.
Turnbull, author of "The Crisis," 387.
Turner, Nat, 430.
Twenty-Second joint rule, 598; rescinded, 656.
Twenty-Seventh Division, 892; at the St. Quentin tunnel, 894; at the Selle River, 895.
Twenty-Sixth Division, goes into line of defenses, 888; in operations of July 18, 1918, 891; at St. Mihiel, 892.

Twiller, Wouter van, governor of New Amsterdam, 73.
Tyler, John, nominated, 434; presidency of, 435–436; repudiated by whigs, 436; and Texas annexation, 438–440, 444; favors Polk, 443; presides over peace congress, 514.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," influence of, 496.
Underground railway, 429.
Underhill, Captain John, fights for the Dutch in New Netherland, 73.
Underwood, Oscar, party leader in the house, 841; candidate for nomination, 845, 846; tariff, 856, 912.
Unemployment Conference, 911.
Union, suggested at Albany Congress, 123; party in favor of, 222; Morris and Hamilton, 223; Washington on, 224, 240; growing sentiment for, 240; Madison for, 240; cause of, in Hayne-Webster debate, 396; Jackson for, 399.
Union League, in the South, 627.
Union Pacific Railroad, and Crédit Mobilier, 649.
Union party, 581, 584.
Unions, in the United States, 741–744; Knights of Labor, 741; American Federation of Labor, 743.
United States, the, constructed, 279; takes the *Macedonian*, 327, 328.
Unity, influence of territorial, 1.
Upshur, and Texas, 439.
Utah, made a territory, 455, 457; settlement of, 679; a territory, 680; a state, 680, 748; and polygamy, 748.
Utrecht, treaty of, 119.

Vaca, Cabeça de, 38, 39.
Vallandigham, C. L., violent speeches of, 582; arrest and trial of, 583.
Valley Forge, army at, 199.
Van Buren, Martin, and the election of 1824, 380; turns to Jackson, 382; opposition to Calhoun, 382; secretary of state, 392; influence in cabinet, 393; influence on Jackson, 394; and internal improvements, 394; benefits by Jackson-Calhoun split, 401, 402; minister to England, 402; nominated vice-president, 403; elected, 405; on West India trade, 416; elected president, 425; character of, 432; his presidency, 432–435; and the Texan question, 441; a Barnburner, 451; nominated by free soil party, 452.
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, as a railroad builder, 733; and coöperation, 734.
Vandreuil, governor of New France, 118; governor of Canada, 126.
Vane, Sir Harry, in Boston, 66.
Van Rensselaer, General Stephen, 323; votes for Adams, 380.
Venezuela, boundary dispute, 777–781; origin of dispute, 777; Cleveland's demands on England, 779; commission appointed, 780; adjusted, 780; effects, 780; debts to other powers, 826; Germany and, 826.
Vera Cruz, taken by Scott, 449; seized by the United States, 869.
Vergennes, friendly to America, 198; and the treaty of peace, 214–215.
Vermont, a state, 264.
Verrazano, Giovanni da, explorations of, 35.
Versailles, the Treaty of, 897–904; delegates of the United States, 900; in process of making, 901, 902; before the States senate, 902; ratified by Germany and allied powers, 903.
Vespucci, with Hojeda, 31; his pretended discoveries, 32.
Veteran's Bureau Scandal, 923.
Vicksburg, significance of, 530, 532; first attempt to take, 531; second attempt, 531–532.
Villa, Francisco, bandit leader, 868; raids Columbus, New Mexico, 870; raids Glen Springs, Texas, 871.
Vincennes, taken by Clark, 204.
Vinland, 23.
Virgin Islands, purchase of, 866.
Virginia, named, 42; English opinion of, 44; government of, 45; reforms of 1609, 49; intrigues, 49; self-government, 50; charter annulled, 50; royal governors of, 51; divided, 52; and the restoration, 80; Berkeley's despotism, 89; economic condition, 89; Bacon's Rebellion, 90; during the last years of the Stuarts, 92; trade, 142; religion in, 151; the university at Henrico, 153; William and Mary College, 154; and paper money, 158; Patrick Henry's resolutions, 166; revolutionary committees in, 174; declares independence, 187; and conquest of the Northwest, 203; Cornwallis enters, 211; confers with Maryland on trade, 241; plan in constitutional convention, 243; ratifies the constitution, 248; parties in, 270; political leadership, 270; supports Crawford, 377, 378, 379; waning influence, 378, 393; attitude toward nullification, 410; slavery debates, 1831, 430; constitutional reform in, 474; the university of, 479; readmitted, 625; republicans overthrown, 632.

"Virginia, Restored," 521.
Virginia, the, 569.
Virginia City, founded, 677.
Virginia Dare, 43.
Virginia resolutions, 285–287.
Virginius, the, 783.
Vixen, the, 800.
Vizcaya, the, 800, 801.
Volstead Act, 904, 934.

Wade-Davis bill, 597.
Wagner, Battery, attacked, 570, 573.
Waldseemüller, Martin, 33, 36.
Walker, Robert J., his tariff bill, 445; as governor of Kansas, 492.
Walker, Sir Hovenden, 118.
Wanamaker, John, postmaster-general, 723.
War, right to declare, 585.
War of 1812, rise of spirit of resistance, 318; Madison favors, 319; preparations for, 319; war declared, 320; opposed in New England, 335; finances of, 336; effects of defeat, 324, 336; lessons of, 338.
Warfare, lessons of, in battle of Santiago, 803.
Washington, a territory, 463; a state, 748.
Washington, Fort, 188, 191.
Washington, George, journey to the Ohio, 122; expedition to forks of the Ohio, 122; defeated, 122; with Braddock, 123; commander-in-chief, 182; operations around New York, 188–191; New Jersey campaign, 191; Philadelphia campaign, 194; at Monmouth, 200; deceives Clinton, 212; in Yorktown campaign, 212; and kingship, 218; on stronger government, 224; opposes army plot, 224; presides over constitutional convention, 242; elected president, 256; on the bank, 261; and Genêt, 266; and whisky insurrection, 268; attitude toward parties, 269; reëlected, 271; Farewell Address, 274; command of new army, 281.
Washington, Lawrence, gets Ohio lands, 121.
Washington, taken by British, 329; treaty of, 672.
Washington Conference, 1924, 920, 921.
Washington Disarmament Conference, 919.
"Washita, battle of the," 686.
Wasp, the, takes the *Frolic*, 327.
Watauga, Indians attack, 203; sends aid to King's Mountain, 208; settled, 234.
Watercourses. *See* Transportation.
Water-power, distribution of, 11.
Watertown, and taxation, 64.
Waxhaw, battle of, 207.
Wayne, Anthony, at Stony Point, 201; subdues the Ohio Indians, 262.
Weaver, J. B., nominated for presidency, 702, 752; and people's party, 752; vote of, 753.
Webster, Daniel, supports the tariff, 387; debate with Hayne, 396–398; supports Jackson on nullification, 409; opposes annexation of Texas, 422; supported by whigs, 425; remains in Tyler's cabinet, 436; and the treaty with England, 437; on Missouri compromise, 457; death of, 488.
Webster, Peletiah, on a stronger government, 240.
Weed, Thurlow, defeat of Clay, 434; joins the republicans, 494.
Wells, David A., as financier, 660.
Welsh, settled in the colonies, 147.
West, Far, physical characteristics, 676; arrival of miners, 677.
West, settlement of, 232–235; discontent in, 264; and Burr, 304; and war of 1812, 321; at the battle of New Orleans, 333; growth of, 341–344; New England and Southern streams of migration, 342; drawn to support the North, 461; public schools in, 478; state universities in, 479; and the panic of 1857, 482.
West India Company, Dutch, possession of New Netherland, 72.
West Indies, trade with secured, 415.
West Point, Arnold at, 201; military academy, 320; after war of 1812, 363.
West Virginia, formed, 520; defense of, 520, 526.
Wethersfield, settled by Dutch, 69; arrival of the English, 69.
Weyler, in Cuba, 786, 787.
Weymouth, George, aids colonization, 45.
Whale fisheries, 5, 142.
Wheat, a staple crop, 8; area of, increased, 665; prices, 667; crop of 1879, 700.
Wheeler, Burton K., nominated to vice-presidency, 926.
Wheeler, Joseph, at Santiago, 796, 797, 798, 799.
Wheeler, W. A., vice-president, 653.
Whig party, destroyed, 493, 495; "Conscience" and "Cotton" whigs, 495.
Whisky, manufacture of, 267.
Whisky insurrection, 267–269.
Whisky ring, the, 651.
White, Henry, delegate to Peace Conference, 900.
White, Hugh L., for president, 1836, 425.
Whitefield, Rev. George, and the "Great Awakening," 150.
White Plains, battle of, 190.
"White slave" act, 851.

Whitney, Eli, 345.
Wilderness, battle of, 563.
Wilhelm II, Kaiser, abdicates, 899.
Wilkes, Captain, seizes Mason and Slidell, 522.
Wilkinson, James, in Spanish employ, 264; corruption of, 264, 304; relations with Burr, 304, 305; expedition on the St. Lawrence, 324.
William Henry, Fort, taken by Montcalm, 125.
Williams, Rev. John, captured by French and Indians, 118.
Williams, Roger, driven from Massachusetts, 65; gets charter for Rhode Island, 68.
Willing, Thomas, 228.
Wilmington, Cornwallis, in 211; evacuated, 213.
Wilmot Proviso, proposed, 451; in nominating conventions, 451, 452; Clay's attitude, 454.
Wilson, Captain H. B., 896.
Wilson, Henry, vice-president, 649.
Wilson, James, in constitutional convention, 242, 244, 245.
Wilson, William B., secretary of labor, 854.
Wilson, Woodrow, candidate for nomination, 845, 846, 847; elected president, 848; leadership of his party, 854; his cabinet, 854; his New Jersey reforms, 855; inaugurated president, 855; addresses congress in person, 856; arraigns the tariff lobby, 857; his trust policy, 860–863; his domestic reform measures, 863; his Caribbean policy, 863–867; his dealings with Mexico, 867–871; refuses to recognize Huerta, 868; sends Lind to Mexico, 869; and Tampico incident, 869; and the "A. B. C. Powers," 870; orders Pershing to pursue Villa into Mexico, 870; his purpose with regard to Huerta, 871; proclamation of neutrality, 873; on submarine warfare, 876; notes on the *Lusitania*, 876; efforts to strengthen national defenses, 878; reëlected, 879; peace appeal of, 1916, 880; breaks intercourse with Germany, 881; demands war with Germany, 882; appoints Hughes to investigate airplane production, 884; appoints Hoover and Garfield, 885; halts project of a Roosevelt division, 886; selects Pershing for commander, 887; his "Fourteen Points," 898; gets Germany to accept the armistice, 899; delegate to Peace Conference, 900; his leadership, 900; his appeal to voters in 1918, 900; in the "Big Four," 901; striving for a League of Nations, 901; opposition to, 903; physical collapse, 902, 904; vetoes Knox resolution, 903; issues call for first meeting of League of Nations, 903; vetoes Volstead Act, 904; physical collapse, 904; upholds woman's suffrage, 905; death, 919.
Wilson committee, the, 649.
Wilson-Gorman tariff, 728, 729; effect of, 729, 756.
Wilson's Creek, battle of, 541.
Winchester, General, 323.
Winchester, taken by Jackson, 547; Early defeated at, 565.
Winder, General, at Bladensburg, 329.
Windom, William, secretary of the treasury, 723; ideas of free silver, 747.
Windsor, Connecticut, settled, 69.
Wingfield, Edward Maria, and the Virginia colony, 46, 47, 48.
Winthrop, John, relation to Puritan migration, 63; elected governor, 64; deals with Watertown, 64; presides over trial of Mrs. Hutchinson, 67; death of, 67.
Winthrop, John, Jr., settles Saybrook, 69.
Wirt, William, attorney-general, 367; nominated by anti-masons, 404; vote of, 405.
Wisconsin, a territory, 344; a state, 463; Black Hawk war, 466.
Witches, punished, 149.
Wolcott, Oliver, 279, 287.
Wolfe, General, at capture of Louisburg, 125; against Quebec, 127; death, 127.
Woman's Suffrage, 904, 905.
Women, enfranchisement of, 904, 905.
Wood, Leonard, commands Rough Riders, 795, 905.
Worcester, Dean C., in the Philippines, 810.
World war, the United States and, 873–904; the United States enters it, 882; form of assistance to be given, 882; the part taken by the United States in, 895.
World war Foreign Debt Commission, 927.
World Court, 921.
Wounded, recovery of the, at Santiago, 803.
Wright, Silas, a Barnburner, 451.
Wyoming, territory, 678; state, 680, 748.
Wyoming valley, raided, 203.

X Y Z papers, 280.

"Yankee Division." *See* Twenty-Sixth Division.
Yates, notes, 243.
Yazoo claims, 301, 302.

Zeno brothers, 23.